



**INDIAN AGRICULTURAL
RESEARCH INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI**

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Vol. XIX.

Part I.

Journal
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

February, 1941.

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The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

Patron :

H. E. Sir Thomas Shenton W. Thomas, *G.C.M.G., O.B.E.*,
Governor of the Straits Settlements, High Commissioner for the
Malay States, British Agent for Sarawak and North Borneo.

Council for 1941.

The Hon'ble Mr' S. W. Jones, C M G., M.C.S.					<i>President</i>
The Rev Fr. Cardon	}	<i>Vice-Presidents for the S S</i>
Mr. R. St. J. Braddell .. .. .	..	..	..
The Hon'ble Mr. C C Brown, M.C S	}	<i>Vice-Presidents for the F M.S.</i>
Mr. V B C. Baker .. .. .	..	..	..
The Hon'ble Engku Aziz, D K , C.M.G	}	<i>Vice-Presidents for the U.M.S.</i>
Mr. Anker Rentse .. .. .	..	..	..
The Hon'ble Capt. N. M Hashim, M.L.C., I.S.O.	}	<i>Councillors.</i>
Mr E. N. Taylor, M.C.S.	..	..	..
The Hon'ble Dr. W. Linchan, M.A , D.Litt., M.C.S.	..	..	..
Mr. R. E. Holttum	..	..	..
Mr. E. H. Corner	..	..	..
Mr. B. Harrison	..	..	..
Mr. F. N. Chasen	..	..	..
					<i>Hon. Treasurer.</i>
					<i>Hon. Secretary and Editor.</i>

Proceedings

OF THE

Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Raffles Museum on Friday, 28th February, 1941.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. W. Jones, C.M.G., M.C.S., in the Chair.

1. The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.
2. The Annual Report and Accounts as submitted by the Council were adopted.
3. The Officers and Council for 1941 were elected.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon Secretary.

Annual Report

of the

Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society

for 1940

Membership. The number of members at the end of the year was 496 compared with 486 at the end of 1939. The roll consisted of 17 Honorary Members, 3 Corresponding Members and 476 Ordinary Members. Three Ordinary Members resigned during the year. Death claimed three, including Dr. R. Hanitsch, M.A., who was first elected to Membership of the Society in 1895, and became an Honorary Member in 1920. During his long residence in Singapore Dr. Hanitsch served the Society on many occasions as Hon. Secretary, or Hon. Treasurer. Rigid enforcement of Rule 6 ("Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership"), resulted in the lapse of a number of memberships, some of which it is hoped will be revived. The following 18 members were elected during the year:—

Abbas bin Haji Ali	Luke, K. D.
Brown, George	Milsum, J. N.
Coole, The Rev. Douglas, P.	Paine, The Rev. H. J.
Curator, State Museum, Sandakan, North Borneo	Razak Khan, A
Gibson-Hill, Dr. C. A.	Silva, G. W. de
Grieve, A. T.	Somerville, D. A.
Hsu Yun Tsiao	Walker, R. P. S.
Jefferson, J. W.	Windsor, Mrs. E.
Lewis, G. E. D.	Yao, T. L.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held at the Raffles Museum on 23rd February.

H. H. The Sultan of Perak, K.C.M.G., K.B.E. etc., was elected an Honorary Member.

The following gentlemen were constituted as a "Special Purposes" (special publications, propaganda etc.) sub-committee. —R. St. J. Braddell (Chairman), B. Harrison, and T. M. Winsley.

Journals. The Journal for the year (Vol. XVIII) consisted of two parts. The first number was a special, well-illustrated publication devoted to Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales' archaeological researches on the Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya.

The second part was miscellaneous in character and contained a variety of articles by eight authors.

Finance. Subscriptions for the year amounted to \$2,026.72. The bank balance at the close of the year was \$1,350.20.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon. Secretary.

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st December, 1940

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Cash		Printing	
Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st December, 1939,	\$3,778 79	Journal Vol. XVII, Part II	\$655.50
Petty Cash in hand, 31st December, 1939,	50 00	Blocks	8.32
		Separates	45.60
Subscriptions	\$3,828 79	Less—Over charge	\$ 709.42
For the year 1939	\$ 328.00		49.60
" " " 1940	1,312.22		\$ 659.82
" " " 1941	106.50	By Credit Note No. 488	201.15
" " " 1942	6 00		
" " " 1943	6.00	Journal Vol. XVII, Part III	\$1,437.50
Life Members	268 00	Separates	40.00
			\$ 458.67
Sales of Journals	2,026.72		
	647.43	Journal Vol. XVIII, Part I	\$1,079.00
Contributions		Separates	18.00
S.S. Government	\$ 500.00	Blocks	1,383.04
Johore Government	250.00		
Kelantan Government	50 00	Journal Vol. XVIII, Part II	\$1,386.00
Kedah Government	50.00	Blocks	127.65
F.M.S. Government, 1940	1,000.00	Separates	262.55
			\$ 1,776.20
Interest	1,850.00	Index and title pages for Vol. XVI, 1938	\$ 54.00
On Investments	\$ 367.00	Index and title pages for Vol. XVII, 1939	54.00
On Current Account	16.49		108.00
	383.49		
	\$8,736.43	Carried forward	\$6,300.41

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st December, 1940—(Contd.)

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
<i>Brought forward ..</i>	\$8,736.43	<i>Brought forward ..</i>	\$6,300.41
		Annual General Meeting Notice..	21.50
		Society's Rules	20.00
		Subscription Notices	8.25
		Index Cards	3.75
		Miscellaneous	
		Binding one Book "History of Malay Literature"	2.25
		One Cheque Book	2.00
		Salaries	600.00
		Postage	206.22
		Posting Certificates	26.44
		Stationery	52.07
		Sundries	86.46
		Bank Exchanges and Commissions	16.82
		Post Office Box No. 493	10.00
		Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st December, 1940	\$1,350.20
		Petty Cash in hand, 31st December, 1940	30.06
			<hr/>
			1,380.26
			<hr/>
			\$8,736.43
			<hr/>

B. HARRISON,

Rules of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be 'The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society'
2. The objects of the Society shall be .—
 - (a) The increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning British Malaya and the neighbouring countries.
 - (b) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.
 - (c) the acquisition of books, maps and manuscripts.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of three kinds—Ordinary, Corresponding and Honorary

4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council

5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of \$6 *payable in advance on the first of January in each year.*

No member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until the subscription for the current year has been paid.

Newly elected members shall be allowed to compound for life-membership for \$100, other members may compound by paying \$50, or \$100 less the amount already paid by them as ordinary members in annual subscriptions, whichever of these two sums is the greater. Societies and Institutions are eligible for ordinary membership.

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid. Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership*

*By-Law, 1922 "Under Rule 6 Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership until their subscriptions are paid. The issue of Journals published during that period of suspension cannot be guaranteed to members who have been so suspended "

7. Distinguished persons, and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honorary Members by a majority at a General meeting. Corresponding Members may, on the recommendation of two members of the Council, be elected by a majority of the Council, in recognition of services rendered to any scientific institution in British Malaya. They shall pay no subscription: they shall enjoy the privileges of members (except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office) and free receipt of the Society's publications.

III. Officers.

8. The officers of the Society shall be .—

A President

Vice-Presidents not exceeding six, ordinarily two each from (i) the Straits Settlements, (ii) the Federated Malay States and (iii) The Unfederated or other Protected States, although this allocation shall in no way be binding on the electors

An Honorary Treasurer

An Honorary Secretary.

Five Councillors

An Assistant Honorary Secretary.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9 Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of the majority of the remaining officers

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be .—

(a) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.

(b) to elect Ordinary and Corresponding Members and to recommend candidates for election as Honorary Members of the Society.

(c) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal

(d) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

(e) to select and purchase books, maps and manuscripts for the Library.

(f) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.

(g) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

(h) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such by-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.

11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a quarter and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall form a quorum of the Council

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15 (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

16. The Council may summon a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requisition signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

VI. Publication.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number of each volume shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members and the Rules.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

20. Twenty-five copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VII. Amendments of Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.

Affiliation Privileges of Members.

Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Asiatic Society has its headquarters at 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W., where it has a large library and collection of MSS. relating to oriental subjects, and holds monthly meetings from November to June (inclusive) at which papers on such subjects are read.

2. By Rule 105 of this Society all the Members of Branch Societies are entitled when on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within Great Britain and Eire, to the use of the Library as Non-Resident Members and to attend the ordinary monthly meetings of the Society. This Society accordingly invites Members of Branch Societies temporarily resident in Great Britain or Eire to avail themselves of these facilities and to make their home addresses known to the Society so that notice of the meetings may be sent to them.

3. Under Rule 84, the Council of the Society is able to accept contributions to its Journal from Members of Branch Societies, and other persons interested in Oriental Research, of original articles, short notes, etc., on matters connected with the languages, archaeology, history, beliefs and customs of any part of Asia.

4. By virtue of the aforementioned Rule 105 all Members of Branch Societies are entitled to apply for election to the Society without the formality of nomination. They should apply in writing to the Secretary, stating their names and addresses, and mentioning the Branch Society to which they belong. Election is by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council.

5. The subscription for Non-Resident Members of the Society is 30/- per annum. They receive the quarterly journal post free.

Asiatic Society of Bengal. Members of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by a letter received in 1903, are accorded the privilege of admission to the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which are held usually at the Society's house, 1 Park Street, Calcutta.

List of Members for 1941.

(As at 1st January, 1941.)

Life Members.

Year of Election.	PATRON.
1935.	Thomas, H. E. Sir Thomas Shenton W., G.C.M.G., O.B.E.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1890, *1918.	Blagden, Dr. C. O., 40, Wychwood Avenue, Whitechurch Lane, Edgware (Middlesex).
1935.	Bosch, Dr. F. D. K., Rubenslaan 54, Bilthoven, Holland.
1921.	Brandstetter, Prof. Dr. R., Luzern, Switzerland.
1927, *1930.	Clifford, Sir Hugh, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., 53, Evelyn Gardens, London, S.W. 7.
1935.	Côedès, Prof. Dr. George, Directeur de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China.
1930, *1931	Crosby, Sir Josiah, K.B.E., C.I.E., c/o H. B. M. Ministry, Bangkok, Thailand.
1903, *1917	Galloway, The Hon'ble Sir D. J., Johore Bahru, Johore. (Vice-President 1906-7, President 1908-13).
1922.	Johore, H. H. The Sultan of, D.K., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., Johore Bahru, Johore.
1900, *1932.	Kloss, C. Boden, c/o Royal Societies Club, 63, St. James Street, London, S.W. 1. (Council, 1904-8, 1923, 1927-28, Vice-Pres., 1920-21, 1927, Hon. Sec., 1923-26; President, 1930).
1935.	Krom, Dr. N. J., 18, Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland.
1903, *1927.	Maxwell, Sir W. G., K.B.E., C.M.G., Chindle, High Salvington, Worthing, Sussex, England. (Council, 1905, 1915; Vice-Pres., 1911-12, 1916, 1918, 1920; Pres., 1919, 1922-23, 1925-26).
1940.	Perak, H. H. The Sultan of, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., The Istana Negara, Bukit Chandan, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1890, *1912.	Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F.R.S., 7, Cumberland Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey, England. (Council 1890-94, 1896-1911; Hon. Sec., 1890-93, 1896-1911)
1916.	Sarawak, H. H. The Rajah of, G.C.M.G., Kuching, Sarawak.
1894, *1921.	Shellabear, The Rev. Dr. W. G., 195, Girard Avenue, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. (Council, 1896-1901, 1904; Vice-Pres., 1913; President 1914-18).

- 1921 Van Ronkel, Dr. P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel
44, Leiden, Holland.
- 1904, *1935. Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT.,
95, Westbourne Terrace, London, W. 2., (Vice-
Pres., 1914-15, 1920-21, 1923-25, 1928; Pres.
1927, 1929, 1933-35).

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1935. Hamilton, A. W., c/o Union Bank of Australia,
Pitt & Hunter St., Sydney, N.S.W., Australia.
1920. Laidlaw, Dr. F. F., M.A., Eastfield, Uffculme,
Devon, England.
1920. Merrill, Dr. E. D., Gray Herbarium, Cambridge,
Mass, U.S.A.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

1940. Abbas Bin Haji Ali, Malay College, Kuala Kangsar,
Perak, F.M.S.
- *1921. Abdul Aziz, The Hon'ble Y. M. Engku, D.K., C.M.G.,
Johore Bahru, Johore (Vice-Pres., 1933-35).
1926. Abdul Malek bin Mohamed Yusuf, M.C.S., Land
Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1933. Abdul Rahman bin Mat, Magistrate's Court,
Tengah, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1926. Abdul Rahman bin Yassim, Dato, 3, Jalan Chat,
Johore Bahru, Johore.
1939. Abdul Rani bin Haji Hussein, District Office,
Teluk Anson, Perak, F.M.S.
1936. Abdullah bin Muhammad Ali, Sultan Idris Train-
ing College, Tanjong Malin, Perak, F.M.S.
1935. Abdullah bin Noordin, A.D.O., Sebat Bernam,
Selangor, F.M.S.
1923. Abdullah bin Yahya, The Hon'ble Capt. Shaikh,
S.M.J., P.I.S., Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
1937. Abu Bakar, H. H. Tunku, D.K., P.I.S., Johore
Bahru, Johore.
- *1909. Adams, His Excellency Mr. T. S., C.M.G., Chief
Commissioner, Nigeria.
1936. Addison, J. S., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
- *1919. Adelborg, F., 40, Artillengatan, Stockholm,
Sweden.
1935. Ahmad bin Haji Tahir, Asst. Commissioner of
Police, Muar, Johore.
1934. Ahmad bin Sheikh Mustapha, Sheikh, Seremban,
Negri Sembilan.
1926. Ahmad bin Osman, M.C.S., District Office, Dindings,
F.M.S.

- 1935. Ahmed Zainul'abidin, Tengku Sri Akar Raja, Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
- 1939. Akers, Raymond, L., Drainage & Irrigation Dept., Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.S.
- 1935. Alexander, N. L., M.C.S.
- 1935. Amstutz, The Rev. H. B., 48, Canning Rise, Singapore.
- 1938. Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1936. Anderson, W. Graeme, Tanjong Batu Estate, Manek Urai, Kelantan.
- 1933. Annamalai University Library, Annamalainagar, Chidambaram, S. India.
- 1934. Archer, The Rev. R. L., Ph.D., Methodist Mission, Singapore.
- 1926. Ariff, Dr. K. M., 12, Beach Street, Penang.
- *1908. Ayre, C. F. C., c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W. 1. England. (Hon. Tr., 1910-11).
- 1933. Azman bin Abdul Hamid, Treasury Office, Mersing, Johore.
- 1938. Badry, C. M. P., Eastern Smelting Co., Ltd., Penang.
- *1926. Bagnall, The Hon'ble Sir John, K.B.E., The Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1919. Bailey, A. E., "Keecha", Park Road, Leamington Spa, England.
- *1926. Bailey, John, C.M.G., 197, Latymer Court, London, W. 6. England.
- 1936. Bailey, L. C., Turf Club, Singapore.
- 1915. Bain, Norman K., 23, Market Place, Warminster, Wilts, England.
- 1926. Bain, V. L., Forestry Dept., Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1912. Baker, Capt. A. C., M.C.
- 1932. Baker, J. A., School of Agriculture, Serdang, Selangor, F.M.S.
- 1935, *1940. Baker, V. B. C., c/o Pahang Consolidated Co., Ltd., Sungei Lembing, Pahang, F.M.S.
- 1937. Bancroft, K. H., M.C.S., Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
- 1935. Bangs, T. W. T., Kuala Pergau Estate, Ulu Kelantan, Kelantan.
- *1899. Banks, J. E., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.
- 1920. Barbour, Dr. T., Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1932. Barrett, E. C. G., M.C.S., c/o State Secretariat, Taiping, Perak.

1936. Barron, G. D , M.C., Superintendent of Surveys, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Barrowman, Dr. Barclay, Dato, Federal Dispensary, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1937. Barton, J. E., The Asiatic Petroleum Co., St. Helen's Court, Singapore.
1914. Bazell, C., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak. (Hon. Libr., 1916-20 ; Hon. Tr., 1921-22).
1925. Bee, R. J., Public Works Dept., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1910. Berkeley, Capt., H., I.S.O., Clink Gate, Droitwich, England.
1937. Beuzekom, J. C. van, Tanjong Balai, Karimon Island, N.E.I
- *1912. Bicknell, J. W., Bykenhulle, Hopewell Junction, Dutchess County, New York, U.S.A.
1884. Bicknell, W. A., 2, Phillips Avenue, Exmouth, Devon, England.
1936. Bingham, R. P., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate, Malacca.
1940. Bird, G. L. F , M.C.S , District Office, Ulu Kelantan, Kelantan.
1931. Birse, A. L , M.C.S., District Officer, Kinta, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1908. Bishop, Major C. E.
- *1935. Bishop, H., A.M.I.S.E , M.A.A.E., Public Works Dept., Jesselton, British North Borneo.
1933. Black, J. G., M.C.S.
1937. Black, R. B., M.C.S.
1884. Bland, R. N., C.M.G., Brown Gable, Crawley Down, Crawley, Sussex. (Council, 1898-1900 ; Vice-Pres., 1907-09).
1921. Blasdell, The Rev. R. A., Methodist Mission, Malacca.
1938. Bliss, Miss Mary, Raffles Girls' School, Singapore.
1925. Blythe, W. L., M.C.S., Labour Office (Chinese), Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1933. Booth, I. C., Surveys Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1926. Boswell, A. B. S., Forest Dept., Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1919. Bourne, F. G., " Little Dawbourne ", St. Michaels, Tenterden, Kent, England.
1921. Boyd, R., M.C.S., Co-operative Dept., Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.

1919. Boyd., W. R., Aram, Hollywood, Co. Down, N. Ireland.
- *1913. Braddell, R. St. J., M.A., Braddell Brothers, Singapore. (Council, 1936-37 ; Vice-Pres., 1938-40).
1936. Braine, Dr. G. I. H., Medical Officer, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
1932. Brant, R. V., M.C.S.
1935. Brooke, A. W. D., Lawas, Sarawak.
1939. Broome, R. N., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate, Penang.
1915. Brown, The Hon'ble Mr. C. C., M.C.S., The Residency, Kuala Lipis, Pahang. (Vice-Pres., 1925, 1932-36, 1939-40., Pres., 1938).
1940. Brown, George, c/o G. W. Wilson & Co., Ltd., Sungai Patani, Kedah.
1933. Browne, F. G., Forest Research Institute, Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
- *1913. Bryan, J. M., Borneo Co., Ltd., 28, Fenchurch Street, London, England
1887. Bryant, A. T., 101, Seymore Place, Bryanston Square, London, W. 1. (Council, 1907-10 ; Vice-Pres., 1912, 1914-16)
1932. Bryson, H. P., M.C.S., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
- *1926. Burton, W., 1, Court Land Gardens, Dulwich, England.
1934. Busfield, H. H., 8, Nab Wood Mount, Shiplev, Yorks, England.
- *1921. Butterfield, H. M., Kedah Peak, Excellsior Road, Parkstone, Dorset, England.
- *1913. Caldecott, H. E. Sir Andrew, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., The Govt. House, Colombo, Ceylon. (Vice-Pres., 1931-32, 1934-35).
1926. Cardon, The Rev. Fr. R., Bishop's House, 31, Victoria Street, Singapore. (Council, 1934-37 ; Vice-Pres., 1938-40).
- 1925, *1937. Carey, H. R., The Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1921. Cavendish, A., 3, Cecil Court, Hollywood Road, London, S.W. 10.
1921. Chasen, F. N., Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Council, 1925 ; Hon. Secretary, 1927-1940).
- *1924. Cheeseman, H. R., Education Dept., Singapore.
1936. Chew Lian Seng, 17, North Canal Road, Singapore.
- *1913. Choo Kia Peng, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.

1927. Clark, B. F., Pontianak, Dutch West Borneo, N.E.I.
- *1926. Clark, G. C., c/o The Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., St. Helen's Court, Great St. Helen's, London, E.C. 3.
- *1911. Clayton, T. W.
1929. Cobden-Ramsay, A. B., M.C.S., District Officer, Kuala Selangor, Selangor, F.M.S.
1922. Coe, Capt. T. P., M.C., M.C.S., Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1936. Coldham, J. C., c/o Gammon (Malaya), Ltd., Post Box No. 223, Singapore.
1936. Cole, W., M.C.S., President, Town Board, Johore Bahru, Johore.
- *1920. Collenette, C. L., 107, Church Road, Richmond, England.
1926. Collins, G. E. P., Nederlandsh Indische Handelsbank, Makassar, Celebes, N.E.I.
1940. Coole, The Rev. Douglas P., Methodist Mission, 13, Kuala Dipang Road, Kampar, F.M.S.
1926. Coope, A. E., M.C.S., District Office, Province Wellesley.
1936. Cooper, E. C., Guthrie & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1929. Corner, E. J. H. Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1934-35, 1939-40).
1925. Corry, W. C. S., M.C.S., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1921. Coulson, N., M.C.S., District Officer, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1921. Cowap, J. C., Springfield, Lower Pennington Lane, Lymington, Hants, England.
- *1923. Cowgill, The Hon'ble Mr. J. V., M.C., M.C.S., British Resident, the Residency, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1938. Creer, J. K., M.C.S., Land Office, Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu.
1939. Cromwell, T. P., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate, Muar, Johore.
1938. Crosse, A. J. G., M.C., Kukub Rubber Estate, Pontian Kechil, Johore.
- *1921. Cullen, W. G., Bartolome Mitre, 559, Buenos Aires, S. America.
1925. Cullin, E. G., 153A, Charlton Lane, Payar Labar, Singapore.
1927. Cumming, C. E., Floral Ville, Lahat Road, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.

1940. Curator State Museum, Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1923. Curtis, R. J. F., M.C.S., Assistant Adviser, Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
- *1910. Daly, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Irish Free State.
1937. Damais, L. C., French Consulate-General, Batavia Centrum, Java, N.E.I.
1938. David, E. B., M.C.S.
1928. Davidson, W.W., Public Works Dept., Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1927. Davies, E. R., The High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1927. Dawson, C. W., M.C.S., c/o Minister for Defence, Singapore.
1923. Day, E. V. G., M.C.S., British Adviser, Perlis.
1930. De Vos, A. E. E., P.O. Box 13, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1926. Del Tufo, M. V., M.C.S., c/o Colonial Secretariat, Singapore
1922. Denny, A., Sungai Pelek Estate, Sepang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1934. Devonshire, G. E., Police Officers' Mess, Mount Pleasant Road, Singapore.
1897. Dickson, E. A., 18, Dunkel Road, Bournemouth, England.
- *1921. Dickson, The Rev. P. L., Western House, The Park, Nottingham, England.
1926. Director of Forestry, S.S. and Adviser on Forestry, Malay States, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1926. Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
- *1923. Doscas, A. E. C., Department of Agriculture, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1936. Douglas, F. W., P.O. Box 179, 8, Barrack Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
1926. Duff, Dr. W. R., Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1915. Dussek, O. T.
1934. Dyer, Prof. W. E., M.A., Raffles College, Singapore.
1931. Earl, L. R. F., M.C.S., District Office, Province Wellesley.
- *1922. Ebdon, The Hon'ble Mr. W. S., M.C.S., Resident Councillor, Malacca.
1922. Eckhardt, H. G., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
1922. Edgar, A. T., M.B.E., Suffolk Estate, Sitiawan, Perak, F.M.S.

1934. Edmonds, A., J.P., C.H., Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1927. Education Department, The, Alor Star, Kedah.
1885. Egerton, Sir Walter, K.C.M.G., Fair Meadow, Mayfield, Sussex, England.
- 1921, *1939. Elder, Dr. E. A., British Dispensary, Singapore.
1932. English School Union, The, Muar, Johore.
1913. Ermen, C. E. A., St. Christopher, Combe Down, Bath, Somerset, England.
- *1923. Eu Tong Seng, O.B.E., Sophia Road, Singapore.
- 1924, *1940. Evans, I. H. N. (Vice-Pres., 1926-27 ; 1928-30).
1936. Evans, Dr. L. W., General Hospital, Singapore.
1939. Fairmaid, Gordon Henderson, Pahang Consolidated Co., Ltd., Sungei Lembing, Pahang, F.M.S.
1939. Faith, J. A. A., M.C.S., Second Assistant Adviser, Muar, Johore.
1927. Farrelly, G. A., Miri, Sarawak.
1909. Farrer, R. J., C.M.G., c/o Mr. Winckel, Groote Postweg, 439, Bandoeng, Java. (Council, 1925-27).
- *1911. Fergusson-Davie, The Rt. Rev. C. J., Fort Hare University, Alice, Cape Province, S. Africa. (Council, 1912-13).
1937. Ferguson, D. S., Drainage and Irrigation Department, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1917. Finlayson, Dr. G. A., "Changi", West Moors, Dorset, England.
- *1919. Finnie, W., 73, Forest Road, Aberdeen, Scotland.
- *1897. Flower, Major S.S., Old House, Park Road, Tring, Herts, England.
1928. Foenander, E. C., 293, Fort Road, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1923. Forest Botanist, The Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, U.P., India.
1921. Forrer, H. A., M.C.S.
- *1918. Foxworthy, Dr. F. W., 762, Arlington Avenue, Bekerley, California, U.S.A. (Council, 1923 ; 1926-27).
1935. François, The Rev. Fr. J. P., Church of St. Michael, Ipoh, Perak.
- *1908. Freeman, D., 96, Priory Road, West Hampstead, London, N.W. 6, England.
- *1910. Frost, M.

- *1912. Gallagher, W. J., 72, Courtfield Gardens, London, S.W. 5. England.
- 1931. Gardiner, E. A., c/o Public Works Dept., Ipoh, Perak.
- 1923. Gater, Prof. B. A. R., M.A., College of Medicine, Singapore.
- 1934. Gates, R. C., M.C.S., Co-operative Societies Dept., Singapore.
- 1928. Geake, F.H., Customs & Excise Laboratory, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1920. Geale, Dr. W. J., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
- *1926. George, J. R., c/o Chartered Bank, London, England.
- 1923. Gilmour, A., M.C.S., Shipping Controller, S.S., Singapore.
- 1936. Gibson, L. B., M.C.S.
- 1940. Gibson-Hill, Dr. C. A., Cocos Keeling Islands
- *1922. Glass, Dr. G. S., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., Whitehall, London, S.W. 1, England.
- 1937. Goode, A. N., M.C.S., Colonial Treasury, Singapore
- 1920, *1940. Gordon-Hall, Capt. W. A., M.C.S., Commissioner, Trade and Customs, Johore.
- 1926. Goss, P. H., Survey Department, Penang.
- 1939. Goss, N. F., 48, Park Place, South Yarras, Victoria.
- 1926. Green, R. T. B., Institute for Medical Research, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
- 1929. Gregg, J. F. F., M.C.S., District Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
- 1931. Gregory, C. P., Kerilla Estate, Kelantan.
- 1926. Grice, N., M.C.S.
- 1940. Grieve, A. T., R.A.F. Station Selitar, Singapore.
- 1922. Gubbins, W. H. W., 7, Wise Road, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
- 1935. Gunji, K., Japanese Consulate-General, Honolulu, Hawaii Island.
- *1923. Hacker, Dr. H. P., Zoological Department, University College, London, W.C. 1. England.
- 1923. Haines, Major O. B., S.O.S. Estate, Selama, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1924. Hamzah bin Abdullah, M.C.S., District Officer, Ulu Selangor, Selangor, F.M.S.
- 1933. Hannay, H. C., P.O. Box 64, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1936. Harpur, W. A., c/o Pinang Gazette Press, Penang.

1937. Harrison, B., Raffles College, Singapore. (Council, 1938-1940).
1921. Hashim, The Hon'ble Capt. N. M., M.L.C., I.S.O., 16, St. Michael's Road, Singapore. (Council, 1938-1940).
- *1926. Hastings, W. G. W., 56, Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1925. Hay, A. W., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate (Labour), Singapore.
1919. Hay, M. C., M.C.S., Land Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1904. Haynes, A. S., C.M.G., Brooklands, 11, Warwick New Road, Leamington Spa, England.
1932. Hayward, M. J., M.C.S., c/o State Secretariat, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
1936. Headly, D., M.C.S.
1930. Heath, R. G., Agriculture Department, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1921. Henderson, M. R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1928; Hon. Tr., 1928-1934).
- *1923. Hicks, E. C., Education Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
1939. Hill, A. H., Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1922. Hill, W. C., Singapore Oil Mills, Ltd., Havelock Road, Singapore.
1927. His Majesty's Stationery Office, Princess Street, Westminster, S.W. 1, London, England.
1935. Ho Seng Ong, Anglo-Chinese School, Malacca.
1938. Hockenhull, A. J. W., Police Officer, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
- *1923. Hodgson, D. H., Forest Department, Seremban, F.M.S.
1921. Holgate, M. R., Education Office, Singapore.
1922. Holttum, R. E., M.A., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Hon. Tr., 1923-26, 1928; Vice-Pres., 1929, 1936, 1937; Council, 1933, 1935, 1940).
1933. Hooкас, Dr. S., Singaradja, Bali, Java, N.F.I.
1897. Hose, E. S., C.M.G., The Manor House, Normandy, Guilford, England. (Vice-Pres., 1923-25; Pres., 1924).
1938. Hough, G. C., M.A., Raffles College, Singapore.
1940. Hsu Yun Tsiao, 71, South Bridge Road, Singapore.
1932. Hughes, T. D., M.C.S., Magistrate's Court, Penang.
1936. Hughes-Hallett, H., M.C.S.

1935. Humphrey, A. H. P., M.C.S., District Officer,
Lower Perak, Perak, F. M. S.
1922. Hunt, Capt. H. North., M.C.S., Statistics Office,
Fullerton Building, Singapore.
1921. Hunter, Dr. P. S., Municipal Offices, Singapore.
1923. Idris bin Ibrahim, Wan, Land Office, Batu Pahat,
Johore.
- *1926. Ince, H. M., Kencot Lodge, Nr. Lechlade, Glos.,
England.
1930. Ince, R. E., Segamat English School, Segamat,
Johore.
1922. Irvine, Capt. R., M.C.S., Secretary to High Com-
missioner, c/o Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1926. Irving, Mrs. G. C., c/o Topo Survey Office, Kulim,
Kedah.
- *1921. Ivery, F. E., Alor Star, Kedah.
1939. Jackman, C. W., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar,
Perak, F.M.S.
1936. Jackson, W. B., J.P., Christmas Island, S.S.
1927. Jamieson, M., Chief Chemist, Singapore.
1940. Jefferson, J. W., Education Office, Kangar,
Perlis.
- *1921. Jermyn, L. A. S., Education Office, Malacca.
1932. Joachim, E. J., Kapoevas Rubber Estate, Soengei
Dekan, Pontianak, Borneo.
1910. Johnson, B. G. H., Crossways, Littlehampton,
Sussex, England.
- *1918. Jones, E. P.
- *1913. Jones, The Hon'ble Mr. S. W., C.M.G., M.C.S.,
Colonial Secretary, (Council 1935; Vice-Pres.,
for the F.M.S., 1937; Pres., 1939-1940).
- *1919. Jordan, The Hon'ble Mr. A. B., M.C.S., Secretary
for Chinese Affairs, Singapore.
1932. Joynt, The Hon. Mr. H. R., M.C.S.
1921. Kassim bin Sultan Abdul Hamid Halimshah, H. H.
Tungku, Alor Star, Kedah.
- *1921. Kay-Mouat, Prof. J. R.
1926. Keith, H. G., Forest Dept., Sandakan, British
North Borneo.
- *1921. Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal P.O.,
Chegar Perah, Pahang, F.M.S.
- *1920. Ker, W. P. W., c/o Paterson Simons & Co., Ltd.,
Singapore.
- *1920. Kerr, Dr. A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House Hayes,
Kent, England.

1926. Khoo Sian Ewe, The Hon'ble Mr., 24, Light Street, Penang.
1921. Kidd, The Hon'ble Mr. G. M., M.C., M.C.S., British Resident, Selangor, F.M.S.
1926. Kingsbury, Dr. A. N., Medical Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1931. Kirkwood, T. M., Millfield Street, Somerset, England.
1921. Kitching, T., c/o Survey Office, Singapore.
1935. Lai Tet Loke, The Hon'ble Mr., 121, Sultan Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1929. Langlade, Baron F. de., c/o Socfin Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 330, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1927. Laycock, J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Singapore.
1923. Lease, F. E., The Shanty, Chislehurst Hill, Chislehurst, Kent, England.
- *1921. Lee, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan. F.M.S.
- *1922. Leggate, J., "Trogett's", Wallis Wood, Ockley, Surrey, England.
- *1913. Leicester, Dr. W. S., Kuantan, Pahang.
1920. Lendrick, J., 30, Norre Alle, Aarhus, Denmark.
1935. Lennox, W. W. M., M.C.S.
- *1925. Leonard, R. W. F., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Penang.
1940. Lewis, G. E. D., Penang Free School, Penang.
1938. Lewis, Lewis Ivor, c/o The Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1922. Leyne, E. G., Sungai Purun Estate, Seminyih, Selangor, F.M.S.
1936. Lim, C. O., Bankruptcy Office, Penang.
1925. Linehan, The Hon. Dr. W., M.A., D.Litt., M.C.S., Director of Education, Singapore. (V.P. 1933-34 1935, Council 1941.)
1934. Lloyd, W., Ulu Tiram Estate, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1928. Loch, Charles W., 8, Wickwood Court, Woodstock Road, St. Albans, Herts, England.
1918. Loh Kong Imm, 12, Kia Peng Road, Kuala Lumpur.
1930. London, The Hon. Mr. G. E., C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.
1933. Lopez, A. G., The Sao Jose, Ayer Salak Road, Malacca.
1930. Luckham, H. A. L., M.C.S., Legal Adviser, Trengganu.

1940. Luke, K. D., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
1936. Lyle, C. W., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1907. Lyons, The Rev. E. S., 1089, Wash, 35th Street, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.
- *1920. MacBryan, G. T. M., Kuching, Sarawak.
- *1933. Macdonald, P. J. W., Laan Cornelius, 7, Batavia Centrum, Java, N.E.I.
1929. Mace, N., Simanggang, Sarawak.
- *1930. MacFadyen, E., c/o The Sports Club, London, England.
1934. MacHacopian, 26A, Orchard Road, Singapore.
1939. Maclean, Mrs. Deborah, L., Chartered Bank House, Medan, Sumatra. N.E.I.
1936. Macpherson, J. S., M.C.S., c/o The Secretariat, Lagos, Nigeria, Africa.
- 1935, *1937. MacTier, R. S., c/o The Glen Line, Ltd, 20, Bilitter Street, London, E.C. 3.
1936. McElwaine, Sir Percy, K C., The Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Singapore.
- McHugh, J. N., c/o Public Works Department, Taiping, Perak.
1935. McLeod, D. S., Bakau & Kenya Extract Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1936. McPherson, Dr. Daniel Ross, General Hospital, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1930. Madden, L. J. B., Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Mahmood bin Haji Mohamed, Said Dato' Adika Raja, District Officer, Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
1937. Mahmood Mahyiddin, Tengku, S.M.K., K.N.C.S., Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
1929. Mahmud bin Jintan, Education Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1936. Mahmud bin Tengku Haji Yusuf, Tengku, Government English School, Pekan, Pahang.
1903. Makepeace, W., 79, Henleaze Road, Westbury on Trym, Bristol, England. (Council, 1914-1916, 1920; Hon. Libr., 1909-12; Vice-Pres., 1917., Hon. Sec. 1918-19).
1932. Malacca Historical Society, The, Malacca.
1926. Malay College, The, Kuala Kangsar.
1935. Mallal, Bashir A., 24, Raffles Place, Singapore.

1927. Malleson, B. K., Sungai Kruit Estate, Sungkai, Perak, F.M.S.
1916. Mann, W. E., P.O. 14, Batavia, Java, N.E.I.
1938. Mare, D. W. Ic, c/o Fisheries Office, Singapore, Fullerton Building, Singapore.
- *1907. Marriner, J. T.
1934. Martin, J. M., Colonial Office, London, S. W. 1., England.
- *1925. Martin, W. M. E.
1921. Mather, N. F. H., M.C.S., c/o The Land Office, Kedah.
- 1922, *1938. May, Percy W., 6, Queen Anne's Gardens, Bedford Park, London, W. 4, England.
1939. Mead, The Hon'ble Mr. J. D., c/o Osborne & Chappel, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1928. Mee, B. S., Food Control Dept., Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1927. Megat Yunus bin Megat Mohamed Isa, District Officer, Temerloh, Pahang, F.M.S.
1936. Meikle, R. H., c/o Rubber Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1928. Meyer, L. D., Revenue Survey Officer, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1936. Middlebrook, S. M., M.C.S., Immigration Officer, S.S. & F.M.S., Singapore.
- *1926. Miles, C. V., c/o Rodyk & Davidson, Singapore.
1925. Miller, G. S., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1921. Miller, J. Innes., M.C.S., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1932. Miller, N. C. E., Department of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1925. Mills, G. R., Kyonkooat, Thanbyuzayat, Moulmein, Burma.
1926. Mills, J. V., 18, Coronation Avenue, Mosman, Sydney, Australia. (Council, 1919-30, 1932-33 ; 1936-38, Pres., 1937).
1933. Milne, Mrs. C. E. Lumsden, Government English School, Muar, Johore.
1940. Milsun, J. N., Department of Agriculture, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1940. Mogensen, Capt. C. P., Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu.
1922. Mohamed Idid bin Ali Idid, The Hon. Tuan Sayid, Alor Star, Kedah.
1922. Mohamed Ismail Merican, Superintendent of Education, Alor Star, Kedah.

1936. Mohamed Jaffar bin Mantu, The High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S
1922. Mohamed Said, Major Dato Haji, D.P.M.J., P.I.S., Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
1933. Mohamed Said bin Mohamed, Dr., The Hospital, Pekan, Pahang, F.M.S.
1921. Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, The Hon. Dato, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1921. Mohamed Sheriff bin Osman, The Hon. Che', Alor Star, Kedah.
1939. Morgan, W. S., Malayan Education Department, Muar, Johore.
- *1926. Morice, J., Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1920. Morkill, A. G.
1926. Mumford, E. W., Police Dept., Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
- *1915. Mundell, H. D., c/o Sisson & Delay, Singapore. (Council, 1938).
1930. Murdoch, Dr. J. W., Mental Hospital, Tanjong Rambutan, Perak, F.M.S.
1934. Mustapha bin Tengku Besar, Tengku, Magistrate's Court, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
1934. Nightingale, H. W., M.C.S., C30, The Treasury, Penang.
1933. Nik Ahmad Kamil bin Haji Nik Mahmud, Dato Seri Setia Raja, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1938. Noone, H. D., M.A, The Perak Museum, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Norgaard, O. S., c/o The East Asiatic Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1939. Ong, T. W., c/o Braddell Brothers, Singapore.
1916. Ong Boon Tat, J.P., 51, Robinson Road, Singapore.
1910. Ong Siang Song, Sir, K.B.E., V.D., c/o Aitken and Ong Siang, Singapore.
1935. Oppenheim, H. R., Peet Marwick, Mitchell & Co., Hongkong Bank Building, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1939. Orr, William, c/o Government Veterinary Dept., Johore Bahru, Johore.
1935. Osman bin Haji Dahat, Supreme Court, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1931. Osman bin Taat, District Officer, Kroh, Upper Perak, Perak, F.M.S.
1920. O'Sullivan, T. A, Inspector of Schools, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1913. Overbeck, H., Klitren Lor, 48, Djokjakarta, Java, N.E.I.

1925. Owen, A. I., Post Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1929. Pagden, H. T., Dept. of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1940. Paine, The Rev. H. J., St. George Parsonage, Pangkor Road, Penang.
1939. Paramsothy, 12, Meranti Road, off Haig Road, Singapore.
- *1908. Parr, L. W. C., C.M.G., O.B.E., Parrisees Hayne, Howley, nr. Chard, Somerset, England.
1937. Pooley, F. G., Messrs. Presgrave and Mathews, Penang.
1922. Pasqual, J. C., Jitra, Kedah.
- *1921. Paterson, Major H. S., M.C.S.
1937. Payne, E. M. F., King George V School, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1937. Payne, Dr. C. H. Withers, c/o Drew & Napier, Collyer Quay, Singapore.
1933. Pearson, C. D., Survey Office, Singapore.
1928. Pease, R. L., Telok Pelandok Estate, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1934. Peel, J., M.C.S., c/o Malayan Establishments Office, Singapore.
1931. Peet, G. L., The Straits Times, Singapore.
1926. Penang Library, The, Penang.
- *1921. Pendlebury, H. M., Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1926. Pengilly, E. E., M.C.S., British Resident, Brunei.
- *1925. Penrice, W., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1914. Pepys, W. E., C.M.G., The Sarawak Office, Fullerton Building, Singapore.
- *1938. Persekutuan Guru-guru Melayu, Negri Sembilan, Education Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
- *1920. Peskett, A. D., Barclay's Bank, Uckfield, Sussex, England.
1939. Pillay, Sandy Gurumathan, 22, Bonham Building, Singapore.
- *1921. Plummer, W. P.
1928. Powell, I. B., 100, Westward Rise, Barry, Glam, Wales, England.
1932. Pretty, The Hon. Mr. E. E. F., M.C.S., Financial Secretary, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1935. Purcell, Dr. V. W. W. S., M.C.S., Dept. of Information, etc., Singapore.

1926. Rae, Colonel The Hon'ble Cecil, C.B.E., P.O. Box 134, Ipoh, Perak., F.M.S.
1934. Raffles College, The, Singapore.
1939. Raghavan, N., 3, Union Street, Penang.
1937. Ramani, Radha Krishna, Advocate & Solicitor, 47, Cross Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
1934. Rambaut, A. E., Forest Office, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1932. Rawlings, G. S., M.C.S., Kota Bharu, Kelantan
1916. Rayman, L., M.C.S., President, Municipal Commissioner, Singapore.
1940. Razak Khan, A., High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1924. Reed, J. G., Sungkai, Perak, F.M.S.
1937. Regester, P. J. D., c/o Messrs. Hogan, Adam & Allan, Penang.
- *1910. Reid, Dr. Alfred, Batang Padang Estate, Perak, F.M.S.
1930. Rentse, A., Kota Bharu, Kelantan. (V.P. for U.M.S 1940, 1941.)
- *1921. Rex, The Hon'ble Mr. Marcus, British Resident, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1926. Rigby, W. E., M.C.S., c/o The Treasury, Singapore.
1938. Robb, L. T. A., Messrs. Robb & Nilson, Guthrie Building, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1926. Robinson, P. M., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 3, England.
1937. Robson, J. H. M., Post Box No. 250, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1938. Rogers, Dr. G., The Hospital, Kuala Belait, Brunei.
1936. Ross, A. N., M.C.S., Govt. House, Singapore.
1931. Samuel, P., 489, Swettenham Road, Seremban, F.M.S.
1934. Sanders, Dr. Margaret M., c/o The General Manager, Traffic Dept., F.M.S. Railways, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1923. Sarson, C. H., C.M.G., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Section G3, Pall Mall, London, S.W. 1.
- *1934. Santry, D., Slamet, Packhorse Road, Bessel Green, Sevenoaks, England.
1934. Sassoon, J. M., 8, de Souza Street, Singapore.
- *1896. Saunders, C. J., The Lawn, Barcombe Mills, nr. Lewes, Sussex, England.
1935. Schneeberger, Dr. W. F., c/o Bat. Petr. My. Tasakan, Tasakan, East Borneo, N.E.I.
1935. Schweizer, H., c/o Diethelm & Co., Singapore.

- *1920. Scott, Dr. W., Sungai Siput, Perak.
- *1915. See Tiong Wah, Balmoral Road, Singapore.
- 1922, *1939. Steen Sehested, 63, Geylang Road, Singapore.
- *1927. Sells, H. C., Satuan Burnham, Buckinghamshire, England.
- 1937. Seri Maharaja, Tengku, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- 1934. Sheehan, J. J., M.C.S., Assistant Adviser, Muar, Johore.
- 1925. Shelley, M. B., C.M.G., c/o The Sports Club, 8, St. James' Square, London, S.W. 1, England. (Council, 1930-31 ; Vice-President, 1934).
- 1929. Sheppard, M. C. Frank, M.C.S., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1940. de Silva, G. W., 59, Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1927. Simpson-Gray, L. C., M.C.S., District Officer, Tampin, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
- *1909. Sims, W. A., The Lodge, Gander Green Lane, Cheam, Surrey, England.
- 1931. Singam, S. Durai Raja, c/o Mahmud School, Raub, Pahang, F.M.S.
- 1934. Sivapragasam, T., Co-operative Societies Dept., Fullerton Building, Singapore.
- 1935. Skeat, W. W., " Pixies Holt " Lyme Regis, Dorset, England.
- *1926. Sleep, A., M.C.S., c/o The State Treasury, Johore.
- 1922. Small, Sir Alexander, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.C.S. (Vice-Pres., 1936-1938 ; Pres., 1939).
- 1936. Smith, G. A., c/o J. A. Wattie & Co., Ltd., Surabaya, Java, N.E.I.
- 1912. Smith, Prof. H. W., Papeari, Tahiti, Society Islands.
- 1924. Smith, J. D. M., M.C.S., Land Office Kedah.
- 1930, *1937. Soang, A. I. C., Tanah Intan Estate, Martapoera, Dutch S. E. Borneo, N. I.
- 1928. Sollis, C. G., Education Office, Hongkong.
- 1940. Somerville, D. A., Besut, Trengganu.
- 1940. Southwell, C. H., B.Sc., Borneo Evangelical Mission Jesselton, British North Borneo.
- 1928. Stanton, W. A., Brooklands' Estate, Banting, Selangor, F.M.S.
- 1925. Stark, W. J. K., Emigration Office, Madras, India.
- *1917. Stirling, W. G., c/o Cox & King, Haymarket, London, England. (Coun., 1923-25, 1927-29).

1930. Strahan, A. C., Education Office, Telok Anson, Perak, F.M.S.
1939. Stubbs, G. C., Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1936. Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, F.M.S.
1927. Sungai Patani Government English School, Sungai Patani, Kedah.
- *1918. Sykes, G. R., M.C.S.
1930. Symington, C. F., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.S.
1937. Tacchi, A. C., Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1908. Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., 96, First Cross Street, Malacca.
- *1926. Tan Soo Bin, 9, Boat Quay, Singapore.
1913. Tayler, C. J., Telok Manngis Estate, Sepang, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1928. Taylor, E. N., M.C.S., Official Assignee, Singapore. (Council 1933).
1935. Thatcher, G. S., Executive Engineer, Kluang, Johore.
1938. Thomas, F., B.A., St. Andrew's School, Singapore.
- *1921. Thomas, L. A., c/o Police Office, Singapore.
1936. Thornett, B. R., 80, Perry Rise, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 23, England.
1939. Toliday, C. R., English College, Johore.
1938. Traeger, Miss G. L., Principal, Anglo-Chinese Girls' School, Chamberlain Road, Ipoh.
1930. Turner, H. G., M.C.S., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1935. Turner, R. N., M.C.S., Assistant Resident, Kuala Belait, Brunei.
1932. Tweedie, M. W. F., M.A., Raffles Museum, Singapore (Hon. Treasurer, 1936-1940).
1930. University Library, The, Rangoon, Burma.
1936. University Library, The Librarian, Triplicane, Madras, India.
1938. Vaux, F. G., Messrs. Rodyk and Davidson, Singapore.
1925. Venables, O. E., M.C.S., Commissioner of Lands and Mines, Johore.
1938. Vinen, G. H., c/o Christmas Island Phosphate Co., 86, Billiter Buildings, Billiter Street, London, E.C. 3., England.

1938. Voorhoeve, Dr. P., Emmalaan, 2, Kabandjahe, Sumatra, N.E.I.
1937. Wade, G. H., c/o Borneo & Co., Penang.
- *1926. Waddell, Miss M. C.
1938. Wales, C. A., Tabanac Estate, Lahad, Datu, *via* Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1931. Walker, F. S., Forest Office, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1940. Walker, R. P. S., Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1926. Wallace, W. A., Tewantin *via* Cooroy, Queensland Australia.
1932. Watherston, D. C., M.C.S.
1916. Watson, J. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.S.
1938. Webb, G. W., M.C.S., Assistant Director of Education (Chinese) S.S., Singapore.
1935. White, L. E., Tebing Tinggi Estate, Kurial, Kelantan.
1927. White, The Ven. Graham, St. Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore.
1938. White, T. L., King Edward VII School, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1923. Whitfield, L. D., Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1926. Wilcoxson, W. J., Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1920. Wilkinson, R. J., C.M.G., M. Y. Sentosa, Chios, Greece.
- *1926. Willan, T. L.
- *1921. Wilbourne, E. S., Batu Gajah, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1922. Williams, F. L., M.C.S.
1935. Wilton, W. K., c/o Survey Department, Singapore.
1940. Windsor, Mrs. E., Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.S.
- *1910. Winkelman, H.
1937. Winsley, Capt. T. M., c/o The Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1938. Wolters, Oliver William, M.C.S.
1939. Wookey, W. K. C., Kota Belud, British North Borneo.
1920. Woolley, G. C., Jesselton, British North Borneo.
- *1905. Worthington, A. F., Longclose, Pennington, Lymington, Hants., England.
1937. Wright, A. Dickson, F.R.C.S., 43, Elsworthy Road, Regent's Park, N.W. 3, England.

1936. Wright, Miss E. Fowler, Sister's Quarters, General Hospital Singapore.
- *1921. Wurtzburg, C. E., M.C., Glen Line, Ltd., 20, Billiter Street, London, England. (Coun., 1924-26, 1930; Hon. Sec., 1925; Vice-Pres., 1927, 1929, 1933-35; President, 1936).
1914. Wyly, A. J., 7, Piccadilly Mansions, 129, Oxford Road, Rosebank, Johannesburg, South Africa.
1936. Wynne, A. J., Drainage & Irrigation Dept., Kuatan, Pahang, F.M.S.
1940. Yao, T. L., 20, Mosque Street, Singapore.
- *1923. Yates, H. S., 331, Jiannini Hall, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
- *1917. Yates, Major W. G.
1932. Yeh Hua Fen, The Rev., St. Mary's Church, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1920. Yewdall, Capt. J. C., "Seatoller", Meadway, Berkhamsted, Herts, England.
- *1904. Young, H. S., Rosemount, Tain, Rosshire, England.
1920. Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad, Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Zamal Abidin bin Raja Tachik, Raja, District Office, Tampin, Perak, F.M.S.
1939. Zainal Abidin Kasahatan, Land Office, Teluk Anson, Perak, F M S

RECENT MALAY LITERATURE*

By ZA'BA (Zain al-'Abidin bin Ahmad).

Among other publishers, the Mercantile Press, the United Press and the Përsama Press, all in Penang, and a number of other Malay printing works in Taiping, Ipoh, Muar and Singapore have been active for many years printing and publishing new Malay books by various writers. Printing presses in Kuala Lumpur, Klang, Seremban and Malacca were doing likewise in a smaller degree until a few years ago. Many of these printing hotuses, notably those in Penang and Muar invite writers to write books and stories for them or to send them any unpublished manuscripts of sufficient interest to be printed by them, offering in return for each a small remuneration or royalty or a certain number of copies of the books when printed to be sold by the author as his own share. In this way the Penang and Muar publishers have produced quite an imposing number of new books and so have smaller printers in other parts of the country.

Representative Writers :

Largely of Fiction.

Of the writers that have fed one or other of these presses, a few representative names may be mentioned with the works they have published. One of the first to enter the field was Mohd. Yusof bin Sultan Maidin, a Penang Malay of South Indian extraction and Chief Clerk in the local Education Office, who in 1922 published his first book, a pamphlet of 40 pp. called *Boria dan Bënchana-nya*, and a few months afterwards followed it with *Sha'er Boria*, both these being directed against the evils and abuses of the Boria plays in Penang. Then came his *Rahasia Këjayaan* (1923), a collection of essays (80 pp.) on Education, Knowledge, Friendship, Character, Duty, How to earn and spend money, Reading and its benefits, Newspapers, the Difference between Man and Animals, Reason and its uses, Helping each other, the power of Speech ; his *Hikayat Pëlayaran Gulliver* (1927), an abridged translation of Part I of Gulliver's 'Travels'—which was later acquired by the Malay Translation Bureau for its Home Library Series ; his *Hikayat Tuan. Putëri Nur u'n Nahar* (1929), a short Moslem romance of some 100 pp. giving a vivid picture of mediaeval Moslem society with its failings and weaknesses ; his *Kesah Pëlayaran-pëlayaran Sindbad* (1930), 120 pp. translated from English and also acquired by the Translation Bureau. Lastly was published his *Këjatohan Kaum-kaum Islam dan*

*Except for difficulties due to its author being at Tanjong Malim and me in London, this valuable account would have formed part of the author's appendix to my *History of Malay Literature*, Journal M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVII Pt. III 1939.—R O. Winstedt

Pergèrakan Baharu (1931), a work of 170 pp. tracing the progress of Islam in the early days, its subsequent decadence and the causes contributory thereto, and the revival of the present day. In all these works his language and style are pleasantly chaste and simple. But he seems to have entirely ceased from writing and has not published anything new since 1931. There is, however, a short work of 110 pp. called *Risalat Ahmadiyyah* or *Siapa-kah Mirza Ghulam Ahmad* (1933?) written by writers under two *nom-de-plumes* one of which is believed to be his. The book was printed at the Jelutong Press, Penang, and defends the excommunicated "Mirza" and his reforming Movement against the attacks and accusations of the *ulamas* in Malaya and Malaysia. The style and language at least of one of the writers would seem to betray his identity.

About the same time, another writer, Ahmad bin Haji Muhammad Rashid of Talu (Sumatra) who was born in Penang and has been in Malaya ever since, began writing original novels on local Malay life. One of these entitled *Ia-kah Salmah?*—a long lively story published in 7 parts (over 600 pp.) in 1928—became very well-known and is now out of print. It is "the story of a happening in the Straits Settlements after the Great War", the heroine Salmah being a modern Malay girl of town surroundings and upbringing. His other novels are *Kawan Bènar* (1927), *Dua Bèlus Kali Sèngsara* (1929?), *Siapa Jahat?* or *Dato Chèn-chano* (1930?)—all widely read and popular, especially the last-mentioned which is a thrilling tale of a Sumatran sea-rover on the coast of Kedah and roundabout Langkawi Islands. But these also are no longer available at the bookshops and have not so far been reprinted. His less known efforts published some time later include *Siapa-kah Jodoh-nya?*, *Rahmah bt. Abdullah* and *Apa Sudah Jadi?* Many of these works are unfinished, either through shortage of funds on the part of the publishers to whom he sold his MSS. or through his own reluctance to write the continuation because of the poor bargain. The books were all published in instalments of 100 pp. or less each and financial difficulties arose in the course of publication. The author was already past middle age, when he died on 13 July, 1939. His writings are marked by a lucid style, a charming purity of language and a good power of description. It is a matter for regret that not all of them have been completed or published.

A writer of great promise who has written or translated a miscellaneous number of works, mostly stories and historical fiction some of them quite long, is Ahmad Nawawi bin Muhammad Ali of Batu Gajah, Perak. Born there in 1904 he attended the local Malay school, and after passing Std. V was admitted into the Al-Mashhor Arabic School, Penang, in 1914 (?). This he left after 2½ years when he was only in Std. III; his further progress in Arabic has been the result mainly of private study. His earliest published works are *Al-Fanus*, *fi Mukhtasar il-Kamus* (1927) an

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Arabic-Malay vocabulary, and *Chërita Putëri Palsu* (1927), the story of a beautiful Russian woman playing her guiles on an Indian Prince. Then followed his *Chërita Amir Fadzlu'llah* (1928), a story of loyalty and devotion to parents and relatives taken from the well-known Arabic work 'Alfa Yaum wa Yaum'; his *Jambangan Burita* (1928), 65 pp., a miscellany of various facts, happenings, and stray items of information; *Ja'afar al-Barmaki* (1930), the story of the well-known mysterious episode in Islamic history relating to the strange marriage of Harun al-Rashid's sister, Abbasah, to Ja'afar his minister and bosom friend, eventually ending in the latter's murder; *Warith* (1932), 156 pp., the story of a young man in Egypt dreaming of the wealth he is to inherit and later deceived by an actress; *Tarzan or Mawas Puteh* (1933), 453 pp., a translation (through an Arabic version?) of some of the thrilling Tarzan stories, issued in 5 parts; *al-Ghara'ib* (1935), 40 pp., containing a miscellany of useful information, curious anecdotes and gleanings from Arabic works on the ancient history of Egypt, India and China.

Among the half-published works, the continuation to which has been either held up owing to insufficient capital on the part of his publishers or is in the course of publication, are *Korban Pěsona* (1934), of which 300 pp. have appeared, narrating the story of the sufferings of a mother accused of illicit love affairs by an unfaithful paramour, with her consequent disgrace and broken life but ultimately vindicated and happy; *Tarzan Kěmbali ka-Běnuu Afrika* (1935), a continuation of his Tarzan stories (551 pp.); *Pěrtěmuan Jodoh* (1937), of which two parts have appeared comprising 304 pp., the story being that of a young man (in Egypt) who was separated from his lady-love by the machination of a jealous rival, sailed to Europe and in the end triumphed over his enemy, *Anak Dara Koraish* (1938), of which 200 pp. have appeared, a tale based on Islamic history, depicting the troublous conditions during the rule of Othman the third Caliph culminating in his assassination, with a love story worked into the scene—translated from Jirji Zaidan's well-known series of historical fiction; *Andalus* (1939) of which two parts comprising 299 pp. have appeared and 4 further parts are promised:— it is a historical romance of old Muslim Spain, describing the conquest of fair Andalusia by the Muslims under Tariq bin Ziyad whose name survives in "Gibraltar", a corruption of "Jabal Tariq". The book though still uncompleted is very much praised by the Malay reading public.

Of his works still in the Press there are *Pěmbuka Mata : Bagi Si-Chělek dan Si-Buta* (1936), describing innovations forbidden by Islam and exhorting strict adherence to the ways of the Prophet and ending by pointing out whose responsibility it is to uphold and enforce the pristine truths of the faith; *Kata Kěbėnaran : Měnyatakan Hukum Ziarah Pěrkuboran* (1938), explaining tomb-
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worship which is forbidden by Islam and the visiting of graves which is sanctioned by it, with various details connected with the subject. Both these are likely to be published outside Perak as they cannot meet with approval from the Perak religious authorities. Another short work by him which was actually refused permission by the religious authorities to be published and has therefore been withheld is called *Pilehan Kata: Mēngandong Bēbērapa Pērkataan Pēndeta* (1937), the MS. copy of which is in the hands of a publisher in Penang.

Ahmad Nawawi has four other stories which have remained unpublished for some years as the publishers to whom he has given the MSS. are short of funds! These are entitled *Abi Kadzim al-Basri* (1930), *Rampaian Yang Indah* (1930), *Kēchewa* (1930), and *Panglima Raja* (1937), the last-named being in 147 foolscap pages narrating the story of a French warrior's loyalty to his king, somewhat similar to the romance of *Hang Tuah*.

Besides these books he has also edited two short-lived periodicals—first a weekly newspaper called *Panduan Tērona*, started in Ipoh in February, 1930, and later a fortnightly called *Majallah Pēnghiboran*, started in April, 1936, in which he published besides general articles and curious notes and gleanings a regular series of short stories as well as biographical articles on Muslim authors and thinkers and other celebrities during Islam's glorious days. Both these ventures have failed and ceased to exist. In all his publications this writer's style is direct and simple and his language comparatively free from un-Malay idiom. But he does not seem to like poetry, as seldom are verses found even in his love-stories and romance.

Another very energetic writer who has published a succession of stories and short works, both fiction and non-fiction, since 1936 is Shamsuddin Saleh, a writer from Siak (Sumatra) who has been in Malaya since 1927, was in the service of the Political Intelligence Bureau, Singapore, for 5 years from 1930, travelled on duty while in this service throughout the whole of Malaya (in which no village or town remains that he has not visited), and the whole of Siam, Burma, Sumatra, Java and the Philippines; has been married in Kuala Pilah. Nēgēri Sēmbilan, for the last 8 years, and is now Manager of the Ipoh Malay Press, Ipoh. The books he has written are mostly based on the secret activities of the Communist propagandists or on the political and nationalist movements in Netherlands Indies, with love introduced as the leavening ingredient. Among these the first to be published, entitled *Kaseh Bērbalas* (1936), 104 pp., a love-story between two English-educated Malay youths and their cousins in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, with a pretty Chinese girl and a Chinese Secret Society thrown into the scene, is now out of print. Then followed his *Hidup Yang Dērhaka* (1936), in 2 parts comprising

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160 pp., narrating the adventures of a beautiful Dutch-educated native woman spy in the service of the Dutch Indies Government, who married a revolutionary native editor in Semarang for his secrets, then moved to Singapore with her husband to spy on the latter's co-workers, and lastly to Bangkok where her own sister exposed her and caused her death; *Siasat Yang Dahshat* (1936) 87 pp., a love-story between two native students at the Law College, Batavia, and a native girl student of medicine, with strong nationalist elements ending in the lovers' banishment to Boven Digoel (Dutch New Guinea); *Bingkisan Rahasia* (1937), 96 pp., another story of secret service and love with the scenes laid in Singapore and Bangkok; *Pemimpin Sulit* (1937), 96 pp., describing how a young Malay from Java working for a Belgian firm of jewellers falls under the spell of a fascinating girl-Communist agent in Singapore, the scenes shifting later from there to Shanghai and the Philippines; *Puteri Laut Selatan* (1937), 81 pp., recording an old-folk-tale of Jokja (Java) with side-lights on the superstitious belief of the Javanese in marvels; *Semangat Muda* (1937), 96 pp., a love-story interwoven with an account of the new religious movements in the Dutch Indies; *Pertandingan Sokma* (1937), 76 pp., a story of the rivalry between Islamic and Christian propaganda in Java, enlivened by an *affaire de coeur* between two highly educated young people; *Korban Poligami* (1937), 73 pp., a story illustrating the influence of "modernity" among Malays, with scenes laid in Singapore and Batavia; *Yang di-Pertuan Gadis Sumatra* (1937), 60 pp., semi-historical old tales of Kampar (Sumatra) and its rulers as descendants of the royal house of Minangkabau—a study of human character; *Pelarian Yang Cherdik* (1938), 59 pp., the story of a political refugee from the Dutch Indies who through wiles and cunning reached safety in the Philippines, the scenes shifting between Singapore, Bangkok and the Philippines; *Umat Melayu dengan Masharakah* (1938), 231 pp., describing the Malays' intercourse with foreign races during the last 2000 years, with prospects of the future; *Tiga Bulan Dalam Penjara* (1939), 81 pp., a story of the nationalist movement in the Dutch Indies with episodes of love between the native mistress of a Dutch business man and his clerk, the scenes being laid in Bengkalis and Medan (Sumatra); *Chemburu Buta* (1939), 60 pp., describing the unreasoning jealousy of certain fictitious women, with an amusing ending; *Kesetiaan Perempuan* (1939), 60 pp., a story of women's ways towards their husbands.

Besides the above he has a number of works still in MS. the publication of which has been delayed indefinitely, including *Pachar Merah Dalam Timor* (over 200 pp.), *Cherita Mandam Bèrah* or *Singapura Malam Hari* (about 150 pp.), and *Jalan Bagi Kéamanan Dunia* (about 200 pp.).

Shamsuddin Saleh was born of poor parents in 1905 (31st August) at a village called Kota Bètong on the banks of the Siak River. His family is descended from great chiefs who in former [1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

days ruled Upper Siak and had had a proud history ; but their later representatives had fallen on evil times. He received his primary education at the Malay School, Pekan Baharu (Sumatra), where he also attended a Dutch School for some years, after which he was employed in 1926 as a junior hand in the Royal Department of Justice (*Jaksa Kêrapatan Bêsar*) for Kampar Kiri and its outlying districts. Before he had worked a full year his service was terminated on the ground of his participation in dangerous politics. He went to Singapore where he had many relations, and found work with a Dutch rubber factory. In 1930 he became acquainted with an Indian member of the Political Intelligence Bureau through whom he joined its ranks as a " Travelling Secret Checker ". He now regards himself as a son of Nêgêri Sêmbilan. His writings all smack of Dutch Indies Malay, but never entirely of it. His language and style are always straightforward and clear, even if the plot of his stories often lacks naturalness and spontaneity, the details of his narrative frequently unconvincing, and the description of his love-scenes sometimes too prosaic or bizarre to appeal to the finer feelings of his readers. His stories have a strong touch of patriotism, but always with a sneer at the " Kaum Merah " and the revolutionaries

In 1935-1936 there were published a succession of humorous but rather erotic love-stories by one Raja Mansor bin Raja Abdul-Kadir who was born in Kuala Dipang, Perak, but was brought up and educated in Sumatra and later in Java. These include *Kêmbang Kênanga Dari Kinta* (1935), *Tujuh Kali Bêristêri* (1935), *Bidadari Tanah Melayu* (1935), *Chinta Bêrahi-nya sa-orang Pêngarang* (1935), *Pêrawan Yang di-Mimpikan* (1935), *Dua Pêrawan Dari Sêlangor* (1936), *Satu Kali Chium Tiga Kali Têmpeleng* (1936), *Di-Gila Bantal Pêlok* (1936), *Suami Yang Di-Bêli* (1936), *Pênglima Ratu* (1936), *Pa' Bolgah, Raja Batak Karo* (1936), *Sêmbilan Bêlas Tahun di-Dalam Gêlap* (1936)—all published in uniform pamphlets of about 100 pages each. The stories are of more or less the same type of plot, and though all have some moral and example to impart they make their appeal especially to the degenerate youths of the town and the lower strata of Malay society. He also published a *Mêlawat ka-Bênuu Siam* (1935), several other short novels, a collection of pantun and songs specially written by him, and a lecture in honour of the Prophet's birthday ! Raja Mansor was much criticised both for the moral tone of his stories and for his style and language which bear the impress of Dutch East Indies Malay. His spelling which shows his lack of acquaintance with Jawi was also strongly commented upon. The fact is that he wrote all the books first in Dutch romanised Malay and then paid some incompetent local boy to transliterate them for him into Jawi without himself being able to judge of the correctness of the work, relying merely on the compositors and proof-readers to put everything right. He was, moreover, frequently jibed at in the Malay papers for his boast of

being a "versatile journalist" and of having a higher standard and better system of education in the Dutch Indies.

Abdul-Samad bin Ahmad, a promising young writer from Klang, has also written and published a number of works since 1936. Among these may be mentioned *Abraham Lincoln* (1936), a short biography of 160 pp. of the great President which he translated from an English work published by Cassels; *Chinta itu Bahaya* or *Rohani 'Arifin* (1936), a novel, highly praised by the Malay newspapers, illustrating the all-consuming nature of sexual love and the danger of vetoing it once it has taken root and been reciprocated, the aim being to warn parents of the importance of exercising tact and precaution in bringing up girl children; *Chërita Batu Bëlah Batu Bërtangkup* (1936 reprinted towards the end of 1937), 100 pp., a well-known Malay folk-tale for children with the underlying idea of impressing on them the duty of filial love and devotion, written down in literary form with appropriate songs; *Kënan-Kënan Sëlangor* (1937), 126 pp., containing valuable reminiscences of the stirring events in Selangor in the troublous days prior to British intervention and of the peace that followed, with a record of the court customs and ceremonies observed at the coronation of the late Sultan Sulaiman Ala'uddin Shah in 1903, arranged and edited in proper literary shape from a rough old MS. of the late Wan Muhammad Amin Dato Amar 'diraja Penghulu Isti'adat of Selangor (died Feb. 1931 at the age of 84); *Sëtia itu Jaya* (1937), 108 pp., a love-story with many exciting and pathetic scenes but much show of pious restraint "as an example to young people of both sexes"—the story being that of a young man coming by accident during a thunderstorm one night upon a Javanese girl on the point of being raped by a Tamil ruffian who had snatched her away from the company of her parents during the confusion following a Circus stampede in Kuala Selangor caused by the escape of a performing tiger. The young man rescued her, and after solemn declarations of love and gratitude between them to be consummated by marriage, took her back to her wailing parents, only to lose her some months later when she was taken to Batavia by her people. After a couple of years the lovers met again unexpectedly as actor and actress on the stage of an opera in Singapore and got married. *Pënglima Ragam* (1937), over 100 pp., with 4 illustrations, was in the press but never published—the story of two youthful brothers, Pënglima Ragam and Pëndekar Hashim as rivals for the hand of the same lady Siti Hairani, with historical background from the dark period of 70 years ago, the hero now almost a legendary figure passing through adventures packed with thrills and excitement; *Pantun Bunga Rampai* (1937), a collection of some 500 pantuns, old and new, on a variety of subjects and with various import, supplied by a number of *pantun* enthusiasts throughout Malaya and selected and compiled by him.

The author was born in Nov. 1913 at Bukit Raja, Klang, the seventh of 10 brothers and sisters. His father was a Forest [1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Ranger at Port Swettenham where he received his Malay School education ; afterwards he studied English at the Anglo-Chinese School and later the High School, Klang. He began early to be interested in writing and literary work, and while still at a Malay School he was sending articles to the Malay papers which seldom published them, causing him thereby keen disappointment ! Leaving the English School in 1932 he joined as an apprentice for 6 months in the office of the *Majlis*, a tri-weekly of Kuala Lumpur. Shortly after, his father died and he was stricken with grief, not knowing what to do as he was unemployed. At last he determined to write stories whereby he found consolation. But in 1937 after he had brought out the second edition of his *Chërita Batu Bëlah* his mother died, and this upset him again. He gave up writing thought of going away to distant countries by following the operas. To prepare himself for this he joined an amateur dramatic Society in Port Swettenham whose members enact plays four times a month without the participation of women. There he was made Honorary Stage Director (*Pëndalang Chërita*) and wrote several short plays for the Society based on incidents of Malay history, but not for publication. He is still connected with the Society though at present it looks likely that the idea of exiling himself will be abandoned, as he has again joined the editorial staff of the *Majlis*.

As a story-writer, he has a fairly good power of description and a lively sense of dramatic effect. His stories abound in exciting and dramatic situations and in well-drawn pictures of natural scenery. But his style though vigorous and dignified is inclined to be long-winded and in some respects anglicised. He is a good mimic of Batavian bazaar Malay which he puts into the mouth of one of his heroines. His taste, however, for moral and religious digressions in the midst of his narrative takes away much of the entertaining effect in his stories.

Ahmad bin Abdullah, a teacher on the staff of the Sultan Idris Training College, is another writer who has published a number of small works during the last few years. He is a man of many strange parts, being a clever conjurer, a soap-maker, a flute-playing enthusiast, and a Malay medicine man ! The writings he has published include *Rahasia Përmainan Silap Mata* (1933) in 2 parts comprising 90 pp. ; *Bujang Sa-Umor Hidup* (1936), a short novel of 79 pp., *Rahasia Sa-orang Gadis* (1936), a longer novel, 140 pp., *Orang Lichin* (1937), 45 pp., a popular story of an elusive thief, now out of print ; *Nyanyian Kanak-kanak* (1937), 90 pp., a collection of Malay nursery rhymes published in Romanised Malay in the Malay Home Library Series of the Translation Bureau ; *Memang Bagitu* (1938), 65 pp., a love-story ; *Pantun Bujang Sa-Kawan* (1938), 119 pp., a collection of new pantuns ; and some humorous stories for children called *Si-Kibun* (1938), 71 pp., *Chërmin Kanak-kanak* (1938), 60 pp., and *Sakum* (1939), 47 pp.. He has also published a semi-religious work

called *Mémileh Jodoh* (1939), 48 pp., which breathes a spirit of distrust in women generally. Harun bin Muhammad Amin, another teacher on the staff of the College who, however, prefers journalistic writings and has been a frequent contributor to the various Malay newspapers has also published a short novel called *Melor Kuala Lumpur* (1930), a love-story of 110 pp.

Two other College teachers, the late 'Enche' Abdul-Hadi bin Haji Hasan who was at one time History Master, and 'Enche' Buyong bin Adil, his successor, have written between them the *Sējarah 'Alam Mēlayu* (1925-38), an ambitious history of Malaya in relation to Malaysia and neighbouring countries, compiled mostly from English and Malay sources and published in Romanised Malay through the Malay Translation Bureau. The work is planned to be completed in 6 books, the first three of which written by Abdul-Hadi and comprising over 700 pp. are concerned with Malaya's ancient history, the coming of the Hindus, the early relation with the Chinese, the Javanese and the Siamese, and so on to the arrival of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British. The remaining three parts (of which only two have been completed) covering a further 600-700 pp. are by Buyong and deal respectively with the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, and the Unfederated Malay States, giving the history of each Settlement or State in relation to the others.

Other Works of Fiction.

Among the College "old boys" who have graduated in recent years, the most prominent as a writer of fiction is Abdulah bin Sidek of Johore. Graduating in 1931 he immediately plunged into story-writing in his spare hours, and has so far published a number of original novels including *Bērchinta Yang Ta' Bērfa'edah* (1932), a love-story of 218 pp., *Pēnanggongan Sa-orang Putēra Raja* (1934), 215 pp., *Siapa-kah Pēmbunoh-nya?* (1937), 140 pp., a detective story with a love element; *Pēnchuri Yang Lichin* (1937), 192 pp., *Duri Pērkahwinan* (1938), 130 pp., *Manusia Yang Buas* (1939), 130 pp., the story of a Malay gang robber chief in Sēgamat and the love between him and the daughter of a Penghulu; *Pērtēmuan Yang Bahagia* (1939), 119 pp., the love-story between a Malay girl in Johore and a Singapore student who wins the Queen's Scholarship. Three other works the MSS. of which he has sold to publishers and are now in course of publication are entitled *Pēngaruh Wang* (about 250 pp.), *Gēlombang Hidup* (about 200 pp.), and *Iblis Rumah Tangga* (about 140 pp.). Most of these stories are original efforts, with the scenes laid in Malaya and the characters of peculiarly Peninsular type. But one or two do not appear to be entirely original; rather they look like imitations of stories already published in the Netherlands Indies with the scenes, characters and descriptive details altered to adapt them to local conditions. In fact, the writer's general style and

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mode of expression betrays much reading of modern Dutch Indies Malay literature. But despite all defects which are many, these works mark the author as an earnest writer who is genuinely interested in his work and enjoys story-writing as a hobby.

A few other "old boys" or Malay School teachers have also tried their hands at the novelists' art. Of these one is Muhammad Yasin bin Ma'amor of Selangor (graduated 1931) who wrote a story called *Suka dan Duka* (120 pp.), while still in College and published it in 1933—so far the first and last work from his pen. It is a love-story based on the story of two young people who had been neighbours and friends from their School days but ending tragically for the girl, who had to marry an old religious teacher of 60 with three other wives! Another is Mohd. Isa bin Mahmud of Malacca (grad. 1931) whose story *Senyum Pemandu* was published several years ago; and a third is Ya'akub bin Abdul-Manaf also of Malacca (graduated 1933), whose story *Ribut Tofan Dari Barat* or *Pengaruh Modan* (158 pp.), published in 1936 describes the love between a Eurasian girl and a Malay student in an English School, who admiring everything Western and 'modern' changes his name from Bahrain bin Haji Mansor into H. M. Rhein, becomes a Christian and marries the girl,—a warning to all Malay youths against indiscriminate 'modernisation'. He has also published one or two other works on similar lines. Suhaimi bin Ismail of Penang (graduated 1934) is another whose first effort *Kesengsaraan Istri* or *Kasih Berpindah* (194 pp.), published in 1938 is a caustic commentary on the ways of 'modernised' society; the young man of the story after marrying an 'emancipated' Malay girl following secret courtship and 'love before marriage' enters the gay life of Penang, gets heavily into debts because of a Chinese cabaret girl, loses his job and deserts his wife to go as a 'Sandow' or strong man with a Circus Company on a World itinerary returning home after six years to find his loyal wife dying. This same writer has the MSS. of three other works in preparation entitled *Laki-laki dengan Kesopanan*, *Lakunan Dunia* and *Mestika Perempuan*, all aiming "to teach by example and to warn our young people against going the evil ways of danger." There is also Mohamed Sidek, a Malay School teacher in Kuala Lumpur who has recently published a love-story *Kekasih dengan Tunangan* (1939), 163 pp. in which the young man is made to suffer, remaining loyal and unmarried, while the girl marries another man. An 'old boy' of the former Malacca College, Ahmad bin Kotot, who is a teacher in Pahang, has also written a local love-story of nearly 300 pp. called *Hikayat Perchintaan Kasih Kemudaan* published in 1927.

A host of other writers have written story-books during this last decade and a half, many of them love-stories with characters representing the school-trained Malay youths of to-day. But there are other works, too, mostly translated from foreign sources, of which the theme is crime, detection, battle of wits, adventure

and even religious devotion. The nature and contents of these stories, whether of love or otherwise, may roughly be surmised from their respective titles of which it will suffice to give the following list of typical examples :

From the various Malay publishers in Penang, who also publish works of a religious and educational nature there are : *Burita 'Ajaib* ; *Chërita Wak Hidong Merah : Korban Kědėngkian* (an Arab tale of 280 pp. by one Ishak bin Muhammad Ali Basha of Batu Gajah and published in 1928) , *Hikayat Korban Kěsėdehan* or *Buat Baik di-Balas Jahat* (1932), by one Muhammad Ali of Singapore ; *Hikayat Sharif ul-Akhtar*, by one Raja Fatimah ; *Satu Malam Mėnchari Rahusia*, by one Haji Muhammad Taib , *Sha'er Chërila Bijaksana*, by one Hasan bin Haji Omar of Kelantan ; *Hikayat Kělėbehan Ashek* ; *Hikayat Kėhidupan Pėrchintuan* (a tale of Damascus translated from the Arabic by Z. 'A. Natar), *Hikayat Tuladan Masa* (containing a miscellany of short anecdotes), *Hikayat Saleh Salehah*, *Hikayat Nabi Musa Munajat* , *Hikayat Pėpėrangan Gharib dėngan 'Ajib* (from the Arabian Nights), *Hikayat Pėpėrangan Sisban* (the story of Ali the fourth Caliph and the Maharaja Ghatrif) ; *Hikayat Pėnggėli Hati* (the tale of a false lover and the Devil in China), *Sha'er Ahmad Kadzdab* (the story in verse of a liar husband and his trusting wife) ; *Hikayat Iblis dėngan Nabi Kita* ; *Hikayat Nur Muhammad dan Nadzam Ayunan* ; *Nadzam Dendang Fatimah* (songs and verses of very inferior type written down in at least two different versions for crooning during cradle ceremonies exceedingly popular with older folks because of its allusions to Malay birth customs and to a myth of the Prophet's grandsons as babies , *Hikayat Darah Pėrkasehan* (a long story in 333 pages, being a translation by one Ahmad Karim of Batu Gajah, Perak, from an English novel entitled "Fair Margaret"), *Chěrta James Carter or Pėnyamun Muda* (a detective story) ; *Lelehan Ayer Mata*, *Rahasia Kėmudaan* (the story of a happening in Tėlėk Anson), *Bunga Tanjong Dalam Malaya*, *Bunga China Pulau Pinang*, *Kaseh Ta' Sampai* or *Gėlombang Ayer Mata* (the story of a tragic romance resulting from " modernism " near Ipoh, by one Mir Hamzah of Perak) ; *Lima Kali Bėrsuami* (by Haji Sulaiman al-Rawi), *Cleopatra* (story of the famous Egyptian Queen), *Chěrta Pėrawan Yang Tėrpėlajar*, *Nafsu Kėhidupan*, *Sėtia Kaseh* ; *Sarong Tangan Merah* (a story of crime and detection in Paris, translated through the Arabic by a student in the Government Arabic School, Kuala Trengganu), *Pėnyiasat Rahasia Sulit* (a detective story by one Ismail bin Abdul-Karim who is the author of three other short original works called *Pėrchintaan Ibu Kapada Anak*, *Hantu Mėnchuri Anak*, and *Rumah Burok di-Tėpi Jalan*, published elsewhere) ; *Dr. James*, a love-story rendered from an English original by Muhammad Ariffin bin Ishak who is editor of the *Majallah Chěrta* of Penang, a monthly story-magazine started in 1938 and run on the lines of the many story periodicals in English but with the stories written in Malay and mostly giving pictures of Malay life and character.

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From the Malay publishers in Muar who also publish many non-fiction works, there are *Musoh Yang Dahshat* (1934), 83 pp., and *Pérusahaan Dalam Chahaya Bulan* (1935), 100 pp., both by one Daud bin Sulaiman who wrote while still a student in the Government English School, Batu Pahat; *Sémangat Pérchintaan* (1936 ?), a love-story based on actual local happening; *Jodoh Yang Ta' Sa-suai* (1936), 44 pp., by one Abdul-Rahman bin Hitam; *Mémbalas Budi* (1937), 76 pp., by one Husain bin Haji Baba; *Pérténuan Kaseh di-Bulan Térang* (1937), a love-story of over 300 pp. issued in 3 parts, by one Zain un-Nasir of Kuala Kangsar; *Siti Rahmah* (1936), 97 pp., by one Tamil Abdul-Muttalib; *Kébinasaan Chémburu* (1937), 68 pp., by Abu Bakar bin Sulaiman; *Kumpulan Téngkorak Kuning* (1936), 90 pp., the story of a dangerous Secret Society in Europe, translated from English by Sayid Hamzah Tahir of Kémaman (Trengganu); *Ugama Atas Chinta* (1936 ?), the story of an Arab warrior and a Muslim girl who had been captured by a Spanish soldier; *Rajin dan Usaha Tangga Kékayaan* (1937), 154 pp., the story of an ambitious and hard-working Malay student who in spite of many handicaps and poverty ultimately succeeds to become a qualified doctor and a famous boxer (!), by Yahaya bin Mohd. Yusof of Klang, Selangor; *Godaan Chinta* (1937), 70 pp., by Hashim bin Haji Sa'id; *Pénglima Hawa Nafsu* (1938), a novel by Muhammad Hashim; *Dua Puloh Lima Tahun Dalam Rahasia* (75 pp.), by Johan Baihaki; *Nasib Anak Sa-orang Nélayan* (106 pp.), by Abdul-Ghani bin Ali of Endau; *Kaseh Tértinggal* (98 pp.), by "Jim-Sin" (J. S.) of Batu Pahat; and a number of other works which have appeared only very recently.

From the Malay presses of Seremban and Kuala Pilah there are *Pérchintaan Yang Malang* (118 pp.), a love-story by Abdul-Hamid bin Salim of Lenggging; *Chémpaka Négéri* (52 pp.), another love-story by one Haji Abdul-Aziz; *Bintang Timor Séménanjong* (1935), also a love-story by one Muhammad Yusof bin Arshad; *Duga Pérchintaan* (1935), 104 pp., a story of adventure and romance by Abdul-Ghani bin Tahir; *Di-Manakah Anak-ku?* (1936), 76 pp., a story of love, murder, and separation from a short English novel translated (through an Arabic version ?) by one Haji Ibrahim Hilmi, an old boy of the Zainal-Abidin Arabic School, Tréngganu; *Kaseh Sumbang* (104 pp.), an incestuous love-story based on actual happening on the East Coast, by Dahlan bin Wahab, Kémaman; *Kaseh Yang Ikhlas* (1936), 102 pp., by Wan Muhammad Amin of Pahang; *Bérmalam di-Kota Mèlaka* (90 pp.), a love-story by Muhammad Yasin bin Pileh of Kuala Pilah; *Ipoh di-Téngah Malam* (60 pp.), a love-story showing the influence of modernism in the social standard of the educated Malay; *Bunga Yang Bérachun* (1936), 50 pp., the story of a woman spy in Paris, translated from the Arabic by A. B. A. Shukri of the Zainal-Abidin Arabic School, Tréngganu.

Of fiction works coming from different other publishers throughout the country may be mentioned: *Mutiara Dari Bènuar*

Timor (1936), a novel of 180 pp., depicting life and love in the Turkey of to-day by Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul-Hamid (at one time editor of the *Saudaru*, Penang) and published at Kuala Lumpur; *Sha'er Enam Pérjodohan* (1935), 158 pp., a story in verse by Muhammad Saleh bin Alwi of Johore illustrating the right and wrong bringing up of girls, and published at Singapore; *John Abram* (1930?), 300 pp., the story of an orphan boy who through devotion to his mother and hard work rose to be a great man, translated by one Haji Mohd. Taib bin Haji Hashim and issued as one of the many publications of the Latifiyyah Press, formerly of Malacca but now removed to Singapore; *Sëtëru Dunia* (1938), 139 pp., a novel describing the wonderful possibilities of the human brain, somewhat similar in plot to the Frankenstein stories of the screens, by one Mohd. Salehuddin and published at Klang. Another story by the same author, *Tërbang ka-Bulan* has been appearing serially for some time in the columns of the *Majlis* (Kuala Lumpur) of which he is one of the sub-editors *Rahasia Bilek Biru* (1938), 90 pp., a tale of mystery by one 'Adnan ul-Fikri and published by the Ipoh Malay Press, Ipoh. He has another story, *Anak Dara Kampong* appearing serially in the tri-weekly *Sahabat* of Penang. From the Rahmaniyyah Press, Ipoh, there have been published among a number of other works *Sayyidah Zaitun*, (an Arab story in 2 parts); *Kaseh Yang Bënar* (1931), 206 pp., by Hasan Taib of Taiping; *Pëllëboran Hati* (1933), 98 pp., a story of frustrated love by Abdul-Wahab of Ipoh; *Taman Pëngiboran* (91 pp.), the story of five well-behaved school boys and a pious man who is made to tell them five religious stories, and *Bunga Raya Dari Ipoh*, a local love-story. Another recent work of fiction is *Johari* (122 pp.), by Daud bin Kasim of Singapore and published by the Singapore Jawi Press, Geylang. From Kota Baharu, Kelantan, the Matba'ah al-Ma'arif is publishing a story-periodical called *Al-Riwayah*, issued fortnightly beginning from November, 1938, but this publication does not appear to be as successful as the *Majallah Chërita* of Penang already mentioned, its first few numbers being entirely swallowed up by instalments of a long Turkish tale *Përtëlingkahan Angan-angan*, which portrays the ambitions and experiences of two brothers as a Government Official and a business man respectively, and so lacks local colour and variety.

A great many other works of fiction have not found place in the above list, and there is no doubt that many more are in the process of being written or published. As to the merit of the contents from a literary point of view, it can be said of those already published that where they are original efforts the stories are for the most part still very raw in plot and workmanship. In places the situations described show a complete lack of understanding of human nature and its frailties. Where the theme of such original stories is love, the love dialogues and scenes are generally too blatant or crude to be pleasant, and at times are even offensive to the good taste of a sober-minded reader, rivalling as they do

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similar scenes in the pages of the unexpurgated *Arabian Nights* or of cheap Western Magazines of love stories and romance. Undoubtedly this feature is due to Sayid Sheikh's example in his "Hanum" love-stories.

But the Malay love-stories of this new type usually have Malays or some local young people for their characters, and the burden of the story in almost every instance is the same—to give an indirect warning against the advancing tide of modernism and against the spirit of emancipation which is slowly sweeping through into the social outlook and habits of the few English-educated (and even of the more numerous Malay-educated) girls of the community as a result of their reading and their intercourse with other races. This new spirit is decried and derided with the authority of religion conveniently brought to bear upon it, and the stories depicting its manifestations generally represent it as ending in scandals and disaster. But in their description of Western social standards they very often give a distorted picture and a false impression, while the influence it is represented to exert upon the educated Malay youths of both sexes and upon their tendency "to ape and modernise" is often exaggerated and artificial. Almost all the stories are presented in true European fashion, opening with a description of the scene,—the distant mountains, the clouds, the swaying branches, the setting sun, the moonlit night, the chiming of clocks, the cock-crowing, the chirping of birds and so on.

Non-Fiction Works and Belles-Lettres.

Of works which are non-fiction there have also been a large number published during this period other than those mentioned in connection with the individual authors already discussed. Some of these are historical or political studies, others purely linguistic and literary, while many deal with semi-technical, religious and other subjects of general literature. In the first category may be mentioned *Tarikh Kerajaan Siam* or *Gajah Putih Melawan Angin* (1931), 132 pp., a skeleton history of Siam by Abdullah bin Muhammad Sa'ad, Dato Butitama Hakim of the Religious Court, Setul, South Siam; *Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah* (1928), a work of 381 pp., by one Muhammad Hasan giving the "history" of Kedah from the year 390 before the Hegira and published by order of His Highness the present Sultan; *Tarikh Pēperangan Itali dengan Tripoli* (1936), 176 pp., containing sketches of events and incidents in the Italian conquest of Tripoli and describing the activities of Tripolitan Muslim leaders therein, translated from Arabic by Haji Abdul-Halim Hasan of Binjai, Sumatra; *Tarikh Dato Bentara Luar Johor* (1928), a biography by Muhammad bin Haji Ilyas, of which only Part I was published consisting of 137 pp.; *Salasilah To' Jēnang Riun* (1933), by Hashim bin Ibrahim of Muar, made up largely of curious genealogies covering 195 pp.; *Pētekan Dari Sējarah Dunia* (1936), 42 pp., consisting of brief

chapters on the expansion of British power in India, the old Mogul rule, Aurangzeb, Europeans trading in India, Robert Clive, Duplex, the battle of Arcot, the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the battle of Plassey, by Syed Saqqaf bin Sheikh Abu Bakar of Muar ; *Pelayaran Dahulu Kala* (1937), 68 pp., describing the adventurous spirit and bravery of the ancient mariners, with a story of the legendary Malay sailor, Haji Batu ; *Tarikh Musir Purba-kala* (1930), of which only Part I was published covering 102 pp., by Abdul-Wahab bin Abdullah of Chēmōr, Perak, who after passing Standard VII in the Anderson School, Ipoh, entered the Al-Mashhor Arabic School, Penang, and then went for further Arabic study in Egypt, later graduating from one of the High Schools there, and is now a Government official in Perlis ; *Taraf Nġġeri-nġġeri Mġlayu Pada Sisi Undang-undang* (1935), 110 pp., a translation of Mr. Roland Braddell's pamphlet "The Legal Status of the Malay States", by Muhammad Zain bin Haji Ayub, Malay Language Master at the Anderson School, Ipoh. Then there are *Siapa-kah Mussolini?* (1936), 90 pp., *Rahasia Kġjayaan Hitler* (1937), *Jġpun* (1937), 55 pp., and *Di-Balek Tabir Manchuria* (1937), 212 pp., all four by Sayid Ahmad bin Sheikh of Muar, who after passing through an English School in Malaya lived in Java and then in Siam for many years. The third work is a short description of Japan, her people, her progress, her strength, and her position in world politics, culled from English and Siamese sources and from various Japanese Annuals in the English language ; and the fourth work, describing the Chinese Revolution, Sun Yat-Sen, Chiang Kai-Shek and Japan's adventures in China since 1931, is a wholesale translation from the Siamese, being originally written by a Siamese student studying in China, *I'tiqad Kġma'nusiġān* (1929), 62 pp., a small but important work on patriotism and national consciousness, briefly describing the policies of the Imperialist powers and the conditions in their colonies and dependencies, by Dr. Hamzah bin Muhammad Taib of Muar, a graduate of the Singapore Medical College.

In the linguistic category there are several further efforts at Dictionaries and Grammars, among which may be mentioned : *Kamus Mġlayu* (1937), a Malay Dictionary of 471 pp., diffusely printed, written by Haji Shamsuddin bin Muhammad Yunus, till a few years ago Supervisor of Mails in the Penang General Post Office, and now a Government pensioner and proprietor of the United Press, Penang, where the book was produced ; *Kamus Arab-Mġlayu-Inggġris* (1929 ?), by a student-teacher at the Arabic School, Parit Jamil, Muar ; *Kamus al-Dzahabi* (1930) an Arabic-Malay Dictionary of 488 pp., illustrated, by Mahmud Yunus and Mohd. Kasim Bakri—both Sumatran graduates of Government Normal Colleges in Egypt—printed in Cairo ; *Kamus al-Marbawi* (1931-32), a better and much fuller Arabic-Malay Dictionary of some 815 pp., illustrated, and has gone through several editions, by Haji Muhammad Idris of Lubok Merbau, Perak, now settled in Cairo where also the work is printed. This author has published

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besides, a number of religious works, some of voluminous size. Still another is *Kamus al-Hamidi* (1928 ?), over 250 pp., a dictionary of Arabic loan-words and phrases in Malay, by one Haji Abdul-Hamid bin Ahmad Mēlaka, a Pensioner ex-Kadzi in Perak : a revised and enlarged edition of this work had lately been offered by the author to the Malay Translation Bureau, Tanjong Malim. There is also a *Pērmulaan Mēngarang* (1936), a short work on elementary Malay composition by one Ibrahim bin Abdul-Salam of Muar, and a new Malay grammar on Arabic lines called *Pēnanggam Bahasa* (1937), by a certain Malay Sayid in Muar.

But the most notable production in this field of study published only two years ago is the "Buku-Katan" Malay Dictionary of the "P. Bm. P. B. di-Raja" (Royal Society of Malay Literature) of Johore. This Dictionary which is by far the most important of the many pseudo-learned works produced in the name of the Society, and the longest in comparison with other similar dictionaries previously attempted, covering as it does over 1,000 pages of diffuse printing, was published in 1936-37. It was written originally by the Dato Haji Muhammad Sa'id, one of the pillars of the Society, and afterwards published bit by bit in the columns of the Singapore daily *Warta Malaya* when criticisms were invited from interested Malay scholars. Later, with many of these criticisms incorporated it was published in book form issued in 12 successive parts. However, in spite of its length, the work is still very imperfect and elementary. It has not fulfilled even half of what Malays generally desire and expect in the way of a compact, concise Malay Dictionary for ordinary use. The words and phrases included are not reasonably comprehensive, the definitions given too sketchy to be of much help, and the spelling in many cases at variance with general practice, while the work itself is spoilt by innumerable misprints and omissions (e.g. the word *dēmam* is not to be found in it !). But the author's aim is only to have a "Malay Dictionary" produced by the Society—and only a beginning at that—to be corrected, improved and amplified by those who can do better after him. At any rate, it can be said in its favour that with all its defects it is certainly the best "Malay-Malay" Dictionary that has so far come into the market, and there is no doubt that by its issue a step forward has been made in the right direction.

The same author's other publications which are produced under the auspices of the Society include a *Jalan-"Basa" Mēlayu* (1937), 102 pp., a crude attempt to present and adapt the English system of grammar in the Malay language ; while his *Pēmērgian ka-Eropah Tēngah* (1938), 129 pp., *Tawarikh dan Manusia* (1938), 66 pp., *Pērihal 'Adat Mēlayu* (1938), 48 pp., *Malaya : Nēgēri Dalam Tanah Mēlayu*, I. (1938), 56 pp., respectively published as Nos. 3-6 of the Society's "Pēredar" (a coined word for "Learned Journal") contain some valuable material. The latest writings by him brought out as "Pēredar" Nos. 10, 14 and 15 respectively

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are *Pêri-hal London dan Bandar-bandar Bêrhampiran-nya* (1939), 67 pp., *Sēmēnanjong Tanah Mēlayu dan Nēgêri-nēgêri Bêrhampiran-nya* (1939), 70 pp., and *Bangkok Kēpala Nēgêri Siam* (1939), 43 pp., all containing much useful information, and in the case of the first and third, such description as usually found in the ordinary guide-books for travellers. The author is fond of coining Malay equivalents for English terms regardless of whatever people in general think or say of them.

His publications which are issued independently of the Society include *Bêrzanji Nathar dēngan Tarhib-nya* (1931), 63 pp., an attempt to render the famous Arabic panegyric of the Prophet into Malay version of the same form and style, *Nadzam Abda'u Bahasa Mēlayu* (1935), a similar attempt for the well-known "*Akidat ul-'Awwam*" of Shaikh Ahmad Marzuki; *Shu'er 'Alam dan Bangsa Mēlayu* (1935), 36 pp., *Sha'er Kēadaan Tuhan dan Manusia* (1936), 30 pp., *Sha'er Panduan Pêrkahwinan* (1936), 23 pp., *Timbalan Bêrzanji Nathar* (1937),—all of which are indifferent pamphlets with no claim to literary or scientific merit. The author's aim seems to be primarily to add number and quantity to Malay literature. His dictum is: 'Never be afraid that your writing is too poor or your facts at fault. Abler people will correct you and improve on what you have begun by producing better works. If every writer were afraid to write because people may laugh at his shallowness, there would have been no books in the world.' His latest publication which is not connected with the Society is a short sea-story of 82 pages entitled *Bagitu Dia* (1939).

Of poetry or verse-composition as Malays understand it, little has been published in book-form during this period apart from the few *Sha'er* stories and *pantun* collections already mentioned in connection with some of the authors. The quality of the *sha'ers* in the verse stories is generally no better than those written during the earlier periods; but of the *pantuns* many pieces in the various new collections compare favourably with the old unwritten specimens collected by European scholars. There are several of these new collections, including *Pantun Bunga Rampai* (1937), compiled by Abdul-Samad of Klang; *Pantun Che Norlia* (1937), in 2 parts comprising some 100 pages by Raja Mansor; *Pantun Laila Majnun* (1938), 82 pp., by Ibrahim bin Mohd. Sharif of Singapore, *Pantun Chinta Hati* (1938), 107 pp., by "Kēdidi" of Penang; *Pantun Bujang Sa-Kawan* (1938), 102 pp., by Ahmad bin Abdullah of the S. I. T. College, Tanjong Malim; *Pantun Tērang Bulan* (1938), 107 pp., published by the Sēntosa Store, Seremban. Such supply of new collections in these days of modern ideas and influence bespeaks the fondness Malays always have for this oldest and most indigenous form of their poetry.

On the other hand, *sha'er* the next most popular form, has always had an attraction chiefly for the more literary-minded.

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The writing of *sha'er* in short pieces of a few stanzas after the European fashion on such subjects as "The Moon", 'My Beloved Country', 'When I was a child', 'Oh Mother!', etc. instead of making them the vehicle of some long connected story as of old, is very much in evidence in the numerous Malay newspapers and periodicals to-day, with varying degrees of success or ill-success. But so far no collections or selections from these have been made and published in book-form. Some of the pieces are mere artificial stringing of measured phrases and jingles, each stanza for instance commencing with the successive letters making up a certain word; but others are poems of real literary standard. One writer in particular, Ghazali bin Abdul-Rahman of Mersing, Johore, an old boy of the S. I. T. College, who graduated in 1937, has been regularly contributing very good *sha'er* pieces to the Malay papers and was doing so even while he was still at College. Other forms than the ordinary *pantun* and *sha'er* have also been attempted in imitation of similar efforts made in Java to evolve new types of Malay prosody after Western models. But whatever happens the *pantun* and the *sha'er* will remain the Malays' favourite form of poetry.

There has been practically no drama written or published so far in spite of the popularity of the Bangsawan Shows among Malays of the less cultured classes. The stage language of the Bangsawan has been much criticised of late by the more educated section of their audience. Such expressions as *Saya ĕmpunya diri, pĕrgi di-mana ayahanda ĕmpunya istana* have provoked smiles and good-natured jokes among the better-informed students of Malay speech. Then there are the many ridiculous anachronisms in costumes and scenes, the strong bias for magic elements and fairy tales in the stories enacted, and the hybrid, often dull song interludes between scenes!

Among books which might be classed in the semi-technical and general literature group there are *Pĕngĕtahuan Pĕrtukangan, Pĕrusahaan Driver Motor Car, Pĕrusahaan Mĕmbuat Barang-barang, Pĕrusahaan Rumah Tangga, Pĕratoran Bĕrmasakan* (in 2 parts by Che Fatimah of Penang), *Tanaman Tĕmbakau, Rahasia Pĕrnagaan, Taman Pĕngĕtahuan Ramai* (1928), *Kitab Kĕsihatan, Rĕnongan Guru Bĕsar* (1934) on certain aspects of teaching and school management by Raja Muhammad Noordin of the Education Department; most of these are pamphlets of 100 pages or so and all published by the United Press, Penang. There are also '*Ilmu Pĕndidekan dan Atoran Pĕlajaran* (published by the Mercantile Press, Penang); '*Ilmu Didekan* (1932), 55 pp., on the training and educating of children by Haji Arshad Ghadiman of Kuala Lumpur, published at Muar; '*Ilmu Didekan Ayam* (1938), 81 pp., on the rearing of poultry by Abdul-Hamid bin Abdul-Majid, an old boy of the Agricultural School, Serdang, published at Muar; *Pĕrbĕndaharaan Rumah Tangga* (1929-31), over 200 pp., a work on cookery giving hundreds of recipes, by Sharifah Azizah

binti Sayid Ahmad al-Mashhor, published in Penang ; *Pemimpin Kaum Ibu* (1931), 117 pp., on prenatal hygiene and the nursing of infants, by Muhammad Kasim Bakri, a Malay graduate of the Government Normal College, Cairo, published in Singapore ; *Kitab Késihatan Diri* (1928), 65 pp., on elementary personal hygiene, by Zainal-Abidin bin Ali, formerly a teacher at the Sultan Idris College, published in Taiping ; *Kitab Lidah Pëndita* (1934), 85 pp., a collection of pithy sayings, aphorisms and short stories intended for guidance to right conduct, compiled by Che Fatimah of the Al-Huda Religious School, Penang ; *Panduan Kēhidupan* (1931), 76 pp., a collection of short essays on various moral qualities such as duty, honesty, thrift, sincerity by Abdullah bin Abdul-Muhyi of Muar ; *Mēmilih Kēhidupan* (1931), 135 pp., by Haji Baba bin Abu Bakar ; *Ta'bir Kēhidupan* (1935), short essays and anecdotes on such subjects as Man, Health, the training of the Mind, the evils of Smoking, Knowledge, Work, the value of time, etc. treated from a semi-religious standpoint, by Abdul-Rahman bin Haji Abdul-Hamid of Penang ; *Urusan Kēhidupan* (1939), 110 pp., a treatise on man's place in the world, with some common-sense directions on the right conduct of life, by Abdul-Rashid bin Muda of Pētani who is also the writer of two other works, *Taraf Bēnua Siam* and *Kēkuassaan Hati* (a translation) ; *Tuladan Kēhidupan* or *Pēdoman Suami Istēri* (1939), 103 pp., on various matters of family life such as man's duties to his wife, considerate treatment of women, jealousy, superiority of men, maintenance, marriage, monogamy, polygamy, emancipation of women, etc., treated on a historical, ethical and religious basis, with several pictures illustrating men and women in the natural state—by Sayid Fadzal bin Omar Basri, printed by the Al-Huda Printing Press, Penang , *Tuladan Adat Pērpateh* (1936), 38 pp , brief notes on aspects of the matriarchal system known as 'Adat Pērpateh' in Negri Sēmbilan, by Nahu bin Saleh of Jempul, with a foreword by the Dato Penghulu of Jempul ; *Guliga Ajaib* (1932), 177 pp., a work on physiognomy translated by one Haji Abu Bakar bin Hasan of Muar, with over 200 illustrations , *Bintang Dua Bēlas Abu Ma'shar al-Falaki* (a work on astrology being excerpts and selections translated from the Arabic original of that famous student of the stars) ; *Naga dan Katak* (1932), 22 pp , being curious religio-zoological observations on these two reptiles, translated from the "Kitab Hayat ul-Hayawan" by Muhammad Zain bin Ibrahim of Penang ; *Fikiran Sulaiman* (1937), 100 pp , a collection of short articles on current affairs affecting Malays and Malaya, by Sulaiman bin Ahmad of Singapore who edited several short-lived Malay periodicals ; *Sha'er Sinaran Malaya* (1936), 117 pp., being largely advice and reflections on the religious, social and economic backwardness of the Malays by I. M. Yusof of Batang Bērjantai, Selangor ; *Pemimpin Mēshuarat* (1931) ?, over 100 pp., a guide on how to conduct club and other public meetings, published by the Latifiyyah Press, Malacca ; *Pēdoman Pērsēkutuan* (1939), 33 pp., on the meaning and need for union, 1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

with hints on the qualities and responsibilities of leadership, by Mohd. Samin Tayeb, editor of the newly started *Suara Malaysia* of Penang, the only romanised Malay periodical at present in Malaya. Another work by this author, very recently published, is *Jiwa Pëniagaan* (1939), 74 pp., on the first principles of Book-keeping, printed in romanised Malay.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT TIMES IN THE MALAY PENINSULA AND THE STRAITS OF MALACCA

By ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A. (Oxon.), F.R.G.S.

(Continued from vol. XIII, Pt. 2, pp. 70-109, vol. XIV, Pt. 1,
pp. 10-71; vol. XV, Pt. 3, pp. 64-126; vol. XVII, Pt. 1,
pp. 146-212).

S.4. Funan.—(continued).

The fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. formed the Dark Ages in Chinese history for they were a long period of almost incessant civil warfare and foreign invasion (154, p. 5). The distress in China naturally affected her over-seas relations. The *Liang Shu* (148, p. 128) says that "during the Chin dynasty¹ those who came to China were very few, and therefore they were not mentioned in the history of that dynasty. In the Sung² and Ch'i³ dynasties, more than ten countries made their appearance, and for the first time a notice of them is given. Since the accession of the Liang dynasty⁴, they have come over the sea every year for getting an almanac and acquitting themselves of the duty of tribute, in greater number than in any former time".

Except for the general statement in the *Nan Ch'i Shu* that during the Chin period Funan came regularly to pay its tribute (221, p. 257) the only information concerning that State which we get for this dynasty is the statement in the *Chin Shu* that in 357 A.D. "Tien-tchou Tchan-t'an of Funan offered in tribute caparisoned elephants", with the result that an imperial decree forbade the further giving of strange animals from foreign countries. A further reference in the *Chin Shu* in a special paragraph devoted to Funan repeats this information in a slightly expanded form and gives the king's name which is considered probably to represent Chandana (107, p. 21), it says that he had only recently ascended the throne. Sylvain Lévi suggested that in reality this embassy had nothing to do with Funan but came from India; Pelliot, however, refutes this suggestion (221, p. 252, n. 4).

Towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. there occurred what Quaritch Wales (228, p. 84) has described as "a landmark of the highest importance in the history of Funan and in the whole subsequent development of Indian cultural expansion" and for which he puts the closer dating of "about the end of the fourth century". The *Liang Shu* says that one of the successors of Chu Chan-t'an (Tien-tchou Tchan-t'an)

¹265-420 A.D.

²i.e. the First Sung 420-479 A.D.

³479-502 A.D.

⁴502-557 A.D.

was named Chiao-ch'en-ju, that is Kaundinya, and that he was originally a Brahman. "A supernatural voice said to him: "go and reign in Funan!" Chiao-ch'en-ju rejoiced in his heart. To the south he reached P'an-p'an. The people of Funan heard of it; the whole kingdom arose with joy, went before him and chose him king. He changed once more all the rules according to the methods of India. Chiao-ch'en-ju died. One of his successors Ch'ih-li-t'o-pa-mo in the time of the Emperor Wen (424-453 A.D.) of the Sung dynasty presented a memorial to the emperor together with local products" (229, p. 169). Ma Tuan-lin adds the information that he introduced communal tanks in place of individual wells (230, p. 440).

We have already seen that according to tradition the kingdom of Funan was founded by a Kaundinya who came from a place which Pelliot considered to have been on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. His dynasty weakened and was supplanted by a line of military kings. In the fourth century A.D. we now have a new dynasty of Kaundinyas in Funan. Jayaswal has called attention to a second century inscription from Mysore and a fourth century record of a land grant to Brahmanas of the Kaundinya *gotra*¹, the second of which shows that the donee was related to the Kadamba king who was the donor. Jayaswal identified this southern Indian family positively with the Kaundinyas of Greater India, as we have already seen², but Dr. Chatterjee in a recent article more cautiously admits it only as a possibility (238, p. 139). We drew attention to the Kaundinyas and their connection with Greater India when we were noticing the Kedah Annals, in which connection we referred to the Vo-canh inscription from Champa. We wondered if it were possible that the tradition in those Annals concerning the founding of the ancient kingdom of Kedah and then the founding of other kingdoms by descendants of the first king could have any connection with the Kaundinyas and we used the accepted dating which places the Vo-canh inscription in the second or third century A.D. Recently, however, Dr. Sircar (239) has come forward with reasoning which leads him to date this inscription to a period not earlier than the first half of the fourth century A.D.³ Mainly he bases himself upon the fact that it was not until the middle of that century that prakrit gave way completely to sanskrit in south Indian epigraphy. If his facts are correct, his reasoning seems to be unassailable, and his results have this merit that instead of leaving the Vo-canh inscription as an isolated specimen divided by two centuries from the rest of the earliest inscriptions of Greater India it would fall into line beside the Bhadravarman inscriptions of Champa, *circa* 350 A.D., though Dr. Sircar admits that the latter might possibly

¹Stock or family.

²This Journal vol. XV, pp. 100-102.

³But see the recently published views of Professor Coedès, I.H.Q., 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 484-8.

have to be advanced several decades. These inscriptions are followed closely by the Kedah and Province Wellesley ones. In the last part of this essay we have dealt with all these earliest inscriptions.¹

We pass now to the fifth century A.D. The first name which appears in the history of Funan in that century is that of King Chih-li-t'o-pa-mo, for which no transcription has been found though *pa-mo* doubtless represents *varman* and Chih-li represents *Sri*². The *Sung Shu*³ says that in 434 A.D. the kingdoms of Champa, Funan and Ho-lo-tan sent embassies, and that in the next year Funan and Cho-p'o-so-ta (or Cho-p'o-po-ta) sent embassies. We deal with Holotan and Cho-p'o-po-ta in the geographical excursus which follows. In 438 A.D. it says, the kingdoms of Corea, Japan, Funan and Champa sent embassies and in a later passage we are told that the king's name was Tch'e-li-pa-mo, which is the same king as mentioned above. The *Sung Shu* also records that in 431 or 432 A.D. Funan refused to join with Champa in an attack on Tongking (221, p. 255).

The *Nan Ch'i Shu* says that during the First Sung dynasty Funan came regularly to pay tribute and it says that at the end of that dynasty the king of Funan had Kaundinya as his family name and Jayavarman (Cho-ye-pa-mo) as his personal name, and that he sent merchants to trade in Canton. Then there follows a long and very interesting account of a mission to China in 484 A.D. by an envoy of King Jayavarman. This envoy was a monk named Sakya Nagasena (221, pp. 256-261). The king complained that one of his subjects had gone to Champa, stirred up trouble there and seized the throne, and he asked the Emperor's assistance against this man. Maspero (176, p. 75) and Majumdar (175, p. 32) think that this usurper was a son of King Jayavarman; but, however that was, the Emperor of China not only gave no help but recognized the usurper as king of Champa in 491 A.D. and gave him a high title. From the account we learn that Funan worshipped Siva and that the god had his perpetual abode on Mount Motan where he descended daily. This mountain is considered to have been the hill Ba Phnom which is very near the apex of the delta of the River Mekhong. The capital, Vyadhapura, was at the foot of this hill and it seems probable that the name of the state was derived from Ba Phnom. Dr. Chatterjee asks if *Sri Saila* might not have been the sanskrit equivalent (238, p. 139). The *Nan Ch'i Shu* concludes its notice of Funan by saying that the country was continually being invaded by Champa and was not able to keep up its communications with Tongking.

¹This Journal vol. XVII, pp. 166-177.

²Had the name been Chih-li-to-lo-pa-mo it would apparently have represented Sri Indravarman (140, p. 161).

³History of the First Sung dynasty, 420-479 A.D., written by Ch'en Yo, 441-513 A.D.

Majumdar (175, p. 32) considers that Jayavarman's letter shows that "the Chinese Emperor was tacitly looked upon as the sovereign authority by all the states in the Far East, and whatever the amount of actual control possessed by him, he never ceased to exercise a political influence upon them all."

The above is all that is known of the history of Funan in the fifth century A.D. but there is a considerable quantity of information about other places and events in that century. This, however, we shall reserve for the geographical excursus which follows, and we shall confine ourselves to the history of Funan alone in the rest of this part of the essay.

At the beginning of the sixth century A.D. King Jayavarman was on the throne of Funan and the *Liang Shu* says that in 503 A.D. he sent a coral statue of Buddha to the Emperor for which he received a high title (221, p. 269). The sculpture of Funan seems to have been appreciated in China because Pelliot cites another text from a seventh century work which records that in the period 479-482 A.D. there was at Canton a huge stone Buddha from Funan which required seventy to eighty men to move it (129, p. 386).

In 509 A.D. the monk Bodhibhadra passed through Funan (129, p. 387) and embassies were sent in 511 A.D. and 514 A.D. in which last year Jayavarman died (211, p. 270). There is an inscription at Vat Prei Vier in Cambodia, dated 665 A.D., which records the date of Jayavarman's death (240, p. 56).

He was succeeded by King Rudravarman, the son of a concubine, who had killed his younger brother, the son of the legitimate queen. Rudravarman sent embassies in 517, 519, 520, 530, 535 and 539 A.D. in which last year he offered the Emperor a hair of Buddha which was twelve feet long. The Emperor sent a monk to fetch it, after which the *Liang Shu* appears to make no further mention of the history of Funan (221, pp. 270-1).

Dr. Quaritch Wales (224, p. 89) says that Rudravarman was "the last king of Funan for about 550 A.D. his empire was overthrown as a result of the revolt of some of his vassal states, more particularly Chen-la, the primitive Cambodian state where the early Khmers at this time threw off the yoke." This, doubtless, represents a view very widely held but it is not completely certain.

Pelliot cites passages from the *Ch'en Shu*¹ which give embassies in 559, 572 and 588 A.D. but make no mention of any king's name (129, p. 389).

¹History of the Ch'en Dynasty, 557-589 A.D., written by the author of the *Liang Shu*

The first mention of Chen-la occurs in the *Sui Shu*¹ which says that "Chen-la is south-west of Linyi; it was originally a vassal of Funan.....The name of the king's family was Kshatriya; his personal name was Citrasena; his ancestors progressively increased the strength of the country. Citrasena seized Funan and subdued it. He died. His son Içanasena succeeded him; he lived in the town of Içana" (221, p. 272).

Ma Tuan-lin has a long and interesting account of Chen-la (Tchin-la) but neither in his notice of it nor in that of Funan does he say anything about the conquest of the latter by the former. He says that during the first Sung, the Ch'i and the Liang dynasties the kings of Funan continued to send as tribute different products of their country and that in the time of the Sui dynasty "the ruling king had the name of *Kou-long*, a family name very wide-spread in all the kingdoms of these southern regions. Learned elders say that *Kou-long* is only a corruption of the word *Kouen-lun* caused by time and bad pronunciation. Under the Sui dynasty and later under the T'ang from the period 618-626 A.D. embassies from Funan appeared regularly at court. In the period 627-649 A.D. one of these embassies brought to Loyang and offered to the Emperor two men from the kingdom of *Pe-teou* situated to the west of Funan and south-west of *Tsan-pan*. The men and women of this kingdom all have white heads when new-born. Their bodies are also very white. They inhabit the caves of a mountainous country, surrounded on all sides by steep rocks and precipices which makes the region almost inaccessible. The country of *Pe-teou* touches that of *Tsan-pan*" (230, p. 441).

Commenting upon the name of the king of Funan the *T'ung Tien* says that "in the time of the Sui dynasty, the king of this realm had for family name *Kou-long*, in various kingdoms, many men have *Kou-long* for family name, if one asks the old men, they say that the *K'ouen-louen* have no family names; (*Kou-long*) is then an alteration of *K'ouen-louen*" (129, p. 128, n. 4, 221, p. 283).

The *Hsin T'ang Shu* in its paragraph on Funan says that the king's family name is *Kou-long* and that he had his capital at Tö-mou but it "had been reduced by Chen-la and he has had to go south to the town of Na-fou-no. In the periods 618-649 A.D. they came again to Court. They offered two men of the White Heads. The White Heads are directly to the west of Funan. All of them have white faces and their skin is as smooth as ointment. They live in the mountain caves; on all four sides surrounded by peaked rocks and no one can go there. They are neighbours of *Tsan-pan*."

¹History of the Sui Dynasty, 589-618 A.D., compiled by Wei Cheng, 581-643 A.D.

In its paragraph on Chen-la the *Hsin T'ang Shu* says that " King Kshatriya Içana at the beginning of the period 627-649 A.D. subdued Funan and possessed himself of its territory " (221, p. 274).

The *Chiu T'ang Shu*¹ mentions an embassy from Funan in the period 627-649 A.D. (129, p. 390).

We shall consider in the geographical excursus the references to *Kou-long* and *K'ouen-louen*, the White Heads and Tsan-pan.

Pelliot (129, pp. 387-8) says that Chinese tradition attributes the victory of Chen-la over Funan to Citrasena ; the *Hsin T'ang Shu* alone, by what he thinks to be an almost certain mistake, places the triumph of Chen-la at a later date under the reign of Içanasena (Içanavarman). He says that in any case the Chinese notices must be wrong since from the reign of Bhavavarman, elder brother and predecessor of Citrasena, epigraphy shows us kings of historical Cambodia in possession of the greatest part of the ancient territory of Funan. He then asks if the *T'ang houi yao*² is not more exact when it says that in the period 535-545 A.D. of the Liang dynasty Chen-la reduced Funan for the first time and occupied its territory. Pelliot says that this text would go back to Chen-la's first embassy to China in 616 or 617 A.D. since the capital of the state is named in the same text as Içanapura. As the Chinese had no knowledge of Bhavavarman it would be to Citrasena, the first prince whose name they recorded, that they would have attributed wrongly the conquest of Funan just as in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* which did not know Citrasena it is Içanavarman who is the conqueror (129, p. 388). Such were Pelliot's theories which seem to be accepted generally at this date.

Dr. Sircar sets out a modern view thus :—" on the death of Rudravarman, the last monarch of Funan mentioned in Chinese annals, there was a dispute as regards the succession to the throne. Bhavavarman, who was the ruler of Kambuja³ at this time and who was also related to Rudravarman (who might have been Bhavavarman's maternal grandfather) seized this opportunity to conquer part of Funan with the help of his brother Citrasena known as Mahendravarman when he ascended the throne afterwards. Funan was not completely destroyed. The monarchs of Funan retreated to the region south of their ancient capital Vrah Vnam. But Funan ceased to be the paramount power in Indo-China as it had been hitherto. The conquest of Funan was completed by Isanavarman, the son and successor of Mahendravarman, who

¹Old History of the T'ang Dynasty, compiled by Liu Hsü, 897-947 A.D.

²Or *T'ang hui yao*, written about 950 A.D.

³Actually, of course, of Chen-la ; the name Kambuja came later.

seized the ancient capital of Vrah Vnam. Chinese historians mention Isanavarman as the conqueror of Funan" (239, pp. 141-2).

Cambodian epigraphy tells us that Citrasena took the name of Mahendravarman and that he succeeded his elder brother Bhavavarman (107, pp. 32-3). Another inscription says that Bhavavarman came to power by force of arms and yet another that he was the son of Viravarman who does not seem to have reigned since Bhavavarman succeeded Rudravarman. Chatterji (107, p. 33) says that "as the inscriptions of Bhavavarman have been found scattered over a wide area and as some of them manifest a warlike tone we may conclude that it was Bhavavarman, a prince of Chen-la, who became the paramount sovereign after striking a death-blow to the supremacy of Funan." None of Bhavavarman's inscriptions are dated but they are considered palaeographically to belong to the sixth century A.D. Furthermore, Içanavarman, his nephew, is known to have been reigning in 616 A.D. and as he succeeded his father, the younger brother of Bhavavarman, it seems safe to assert that Bhavavarman reigned in the middle of the sixth century A.D. or at the time when Funan would seem to have been conquered. Lastly, in the most archaic of the Bhavavarman inscriptions there is this definite statement—"Having conquered the kings of the mountain, his glory spread over all the directions of the earth" etc. (107, p. 42). That seems to be a direct reference to the kings of Funan.

There is reason for thinking that the Rudravarman whom Bhavavarman succeeded was the same king as the one whom he conquered, as Pelliot has suggested, and this seems to be borne out by the pedigree which the kings of Cambodia claimed in the tenth century A.D. They asserted that they were the descendants of Srutavarman and boasted of having delivered their native land from the chains of tribute, which seems to refer to the yoke of Funan; and they traced their descent from Rudravarman as chief of their branch. They claimed origin from Soma and Kaundinya (107, pp. 29-30). Everything seems to point to the fact that Bhavavarman claimed to carry on the Funan throne and so laid claim to the Funan royal descent. Moreover, as ruler of the vassal state Chen-la, Bhavavarman might very well have been a member of the Funan royal family.

Luce gives notices of Chen-la (229, pp. 189-194) and considers that it supplanted Funan about the end of the sixth century A.D. Its first embassy to China seems to have been in 616 or 617 A.D.

Funan, however, sent embassies also in the first half of the seventh century A.D. as we have seen, after which, to use Pelliot's graphic expression, night descends upon its rulers and they disappear in the Khmer empire.

1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

One pictures a failing struggle to retain power, then a lapsing into entire decay, followed by the royal family or some of its members seeking their fortunes somewhere else.

I Tsing writing about 692 A.D. says that Funan was then known as Poh-nan or Pa-nan. "Of old it was a country, the inhabitants of which lived naked; the people were mostly worshippers of heaven (the gods or *devas*), and later on, Buddhism flourished there, but a wicked king has now expelled and exterminated them all, and there are no members of the Buddhist Brotherhood at all, whilst adherents of other religions (or heretics) live intermingled" (227, p. 12).

The reader will find a useful summary of the history of Funan and an important discussion of its art in Le May (240).

The whole question of the last days of Funan and its passing into the beginning of the Cambodian empire is worthy of close argument and is a matter of importance as we shall see when we come to discuss Sri-Vijaya and the origin of the Sailendras.

S.5. Geographical.

The history of Srivijaya begins with an embassy which it sent to China in the period 670-3 A.D. and there is, therefore, a long gap between our Funan and Srivijaya periods. This excursus is designed to cover that gap and also to deal with various Chinese toponyms of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. which were omitted from our Funan period. For the sake of continuity, however, it will include the travels of I Tsing and, therefore, will overlap the beginning of our Srivijaya period. It will take us well into T'ang times and will involve us mainly in questions concerning the ancient geography of Malaysia.

As to that geography it can be said that the attempt to reconstruct it so far has been based mainly upon philological speculations. Indeed, a cynic might observe that it has been more of a witch-hunt for names than an attempt to ascertain the evidence and to face it when ascertained. The student of what has been written so far in English and French¹ will be struck by the great wealth of speculation as compared with the poverty of fact. Indeed, the greater part of the Chinese evidence is still untranslated and without going so far in the disparagement of sinologists as did Gerini (*e.g.* 46, p. 608, n. 1.) an unbiassed student must say that their divergent views and a comparison of those views with the facts which they give make it quite impossible to accept the *ipse dixit* of any of them. Moreover, they are far from being in agreement even as to translations.

¹ To which only we apply ourselves; see this Journal, vol. XIV, pt. 3, pp. 10-11.

Recently this Journal has been so fortunate as to be permitted to publish an English translation of Mr. Moens' most interesting reconsideration of a number of geographical matters in connection with Srivijaya, Yava and Katāha (241). The reader who has followed us so far will readily understand that, though we may get very different results from him and though we may take occasion to criticise his views, we are working upon the same principles as Mr. Moens.

In considering his essay it must be remembered that he has compressed a large mass of material into it and that he does not always explain his reasoning. It is possible to show that sometimes he makes incorrect statements and that sometimes he states as facts what are in reality only his theories. It may quite possibly be that many, if not the majority, of his identifications will be rejected¹ but he has performed a great service by throwing a flood of new light and fresh thought upon a subject which without any justification was becoming stereotyped and, what is worse, sterilized from criticism.

We agree with Mr. Moens that it is wrong to disregard in favour of phonetic reasoning the evidence which we are given. We agree with him that having ascertained the evidence we must accept it and reason from it. Indeed, we would insist most urgently that unless the ancient geography of Malaysia is determined by a scientific application of the fundamental rules of reasoning it will get nowhere.

It has been the endeavour of this essay to proceed chronologically and we would have preferred to have given the reader a conspectus of the ancient Chinese geography at various main periods but it is not possible to do so. Too much of the material is untranslated and, save in the case of Funan, we have no complete translations of the notices about any of the main places in chronological sequence. There is the further difficulty that Chinese authors quote with complete indifference to chronology and almost invariably without indicating the works from which they are quoting. Kuwabara writes that "as Chinese books in general are conspicuous for their absence of an exact idea of date, we must be very careful in making use of the materials afforded by them" (179, 7, p. 28).

Of the great geographic encyclopaedias only the works of Ma Tuan-lin and Chau Ju-kua have been translated: and neither translation is considered to be entirely accurate. The absence of a translation of the geographical part of Tu Yu's *Tung Tien* is particularly to be deplored, as that is a T'ang work which reaches down from the earliest period to the eighth century A.D.

¹See, for instance, Professor Nilakanta Sastri's criticisms in J. G. I. S., 1940, vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 15-42.

The reader will, therefore, appreciate that it is at the moment impossible to present any accurate picture of the ancient Chinese geography of Malaysia and that all that is possible is to discuss such facts as are available at present.

We begin with the travels of two Buddhist priests, Fa-hien and Gunavarman.

The adventures of the former are related by himself in his work the *Fo kuo chi* which has been translated by Beal (242) and Giles (243) amongst others, while Groeneveldt has translated the part of it which is material to our present purpose (148, pp. 131-133). Majumdar in the recently published second part of his *Suvarnadvipa* reproduces Legge's translation (244, pp. 24-27). So far as is known no Chinese monk before Fa-hien had ever left China for India and "with him began a period of intercourse between China and India, the importance of which we cannot fully appreciate in the present age of internationalism" (245, p. 61). Fa-hien left China in 399 A.D. and went to India by land. After a lengthy stay in India he returned to China by sea *via* Ceylon and a place which we shall write as Ye-po-ti¹ where he arrived in 413 A.D. sailing for China the next year. Fa-hien's travels thus lasted for fifteen years.

What we know about Gunavarman is contained most fully in the *Kao seng ch'uan* which was written in 519 A.D. by the monk Hui-chiao and the material part of which has been translated by Chavannes (142). Gunavarman travelled by sea from Ceylon to China *via* a place which we shall write as Cho-po. It is not known when exactly he reached Cho-po but he left it for China in 424 A.D.

A consideration of the facts about these places, Ye-po-ti and Cho-po, is of paramount importance to the ancient geography of Malaysia and leads us to a consideration also of the ancient names representing the sounds *Java* or *Yava*.

Almost universally nowadays it is stated that Fa-hien visited the present island of Java as though that were an actual fact. Thus, Professor Vogel in his *Buddhist Art*, 1936, writes "when the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien visited Java on his voyage home from Ceylon", etc.; and Dr. Majumdar in his *Suvarnadvipa*, 1937, writes "the first valuable and authentic account of the state of Hindu culture in Java is furnished by Fa-hien", and in a footnote (p. 103) he says that "the scholars are generally agreed that Ye-p'o-ti of Fa-hien denotes Yavadvipa (= Java)".

¹But as usual there are other ways of spelling it, as Yavadi by Groeneveldt, Ya-po-ti by Gerini and Ye-p'o-ti by Pelliot.

Once an idea becomes implanted in the minds of learned men, it is very hard to dislodge. With each repetition a new authority is added for the view until what was really only theory is accepted as a fact. There has, however, been no discussion up to now in English or French of all the actual evidence which Fa-hien himself gives.

In 1904 the great French scholar Pelliot in his famous *Deux Itinéraires* (129) discussed the toponyms Yava-dvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou, Tchou-po, Tou-po, Ye-po-ti, Cho-po and Ho-ling, and considered the question of their location. His conclusion was that they all represented the present island of Java and, whenever his facts either pointed to Borneo or gave Borneo as an alternative, he rejected that island. In arriving at his conclusion he relied upon what was a chain of reasoning but, when that reasoning is examined, it will be seen to be dependent mainly upon the etymology of the names.

There is no doubt that, despite the contrary views of Ferrand, Schlegel and Gerini, it has been Pelliot whom the majority of writers since have followed. But Pelliot himself changed his views radically upon one most important point. We have already remarked in this essay that the modern fashion is not to consider Yava-dvipa as being Java but to beg a question by calling it Java-Sumatra¹. Following that fashion Pelliot in 1925 described Tchou-po and Cho-po as being Sumatra-Java (146, pp 248, 250) and thus broke the chain of his reasoning in 1904, when he had been very certain that each of them represented the present island of Java and nowhere else.

We propose to re-examine the available evidence about the eight Chinese toponyms above and to ask the reader for his attention unbiassed by any prepossessions. Unless the questions involved are decided correctly any attempt to reconstruct the ancient geography of Malaysia is bound to go wrong.

We must begin by a little recapitulation since we have already referred in previous parts of this essay to Yava-dvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou, and Tchou-po.

Yava-dvipa. The *Ramayana* says that Yava-dvipa² was embellished with seven kingdoms and calls it "the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold"; and it says that beyond Yava-dvipa was the mountain called Çiçira (which means literally "fresh") the summit of which touches the sky and which is visited by gods and demons. Moens calls attention to Mt. Kinabalu in Borneo in connection with Çiçira (241, pp. 33, 100).

¹This Journal, vol. XV, pt. 3, pp 76, 79-80.

²This Journal, vol. XIII, pt 2, p 103; vol. XV, pt 3 pp. 75-80.

Yava-dvipa is a sanskrit name meaning literally " the island of barley ".

There is, of course, no indication whatsoever in the *Ramayana* of the geographic position of Yava-dvipa.

Ye-tiao. Ye-tiao¹ was known to the Chinese as having sent a mission to the Emperor in 132 A.D. It is stated to be a kingdom beyond the borders of Je-nan.

Ye-tiao represents the sound *Yap-div*, according to Pelliot whose opinion has been generally accepted, and is a Chinese transcription of a prakrit form and not a sanskrit one (129, p. 266 and n. 2). All are agreed in correlating this Yap-div, and so Yeo-tiao, with the sound *Yava*.

Iabadiou. Except for Ptolemy, about the middle of the second century A.D., Iabadiou² would be unknown ; it occurs in his pages and nowhere else but it has the variant form in many of the MSS. of Sabadiou (or Sabadios).

All are agreed that Iabadiou is the equivalent of the prakrit *Yava-divu* or *Yava-div* and that it must therefore be correlated with the sanskrit Yavadvipa and the chinese Ye-tiao; and accordingly with the sound *Yava*.

All are also agreed that Iabadiou and Yava-dvipa are the same place.

The information which Ptolemy gives resembles that in the *Ramayana* and he says that the name Iabadiou means " the island of barley ". He tells us that it was fertile and that it produced a great quantity of gold. He also tells us that its metropolis was called Argyre and that this town was situate at the western extremity of the island which he places $2\frac{1}{2}$ of his degrees of longitude east of the Golden Chersonese or Malay Peninsula. He puts the eastern extremity 20 minutes of his latitude north of the western and 2 of his degrees of longitude east of it. We are, therefore, told that Iabadiou was an island very much to the east of the Golden Chersonese and that its eastern extremity was considerably north of its western. It is obvious that neither of these indications could fit the islands of Java or Sumatra.

Ptolemy, however, places Iabadiou some 5 of his degrees of latitude south of the Golden Chersonese. With regard to this it must be remembered that Ptolemy, like so many other learned men, could not rid his mind of an *idée fixe* and it seems clear that,

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 77.

²This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, pp. 108, 112-3.

like so many other learned men, when he was given facts which did not coincide with that *idée fixe* he rejected the facts and not the idea. In his day the accepted theory was that a great southern *Terra Incognita* made an inland sea of the Indian Ocean and, following that theory, he enclosed what we call the South China Sea by land with the result that he had to reject the facts which his informants must have given him. Thus he put Kattigara $8\frac{1}{2}$ of his degrees of *south* latitude instead of far up to the north as his informants must have told him. Kattigara was the farthest point of which they could tell him and it corresponded with the present Hanoi or some place even farther north than that. Ptolemy thus put Iabadiou and Kattigara upon the same position of latitude $8^{\circ} 30' S$. The result of his obsession is that all his positions beyond the Golden Chersonese have to be bent up north and also the Islands which he gives, as we have previously pointed out in this essay¹.

It seems clear, therefore, that while we can accept the fact that Iabadiou was well to the east of the Golden Chersonese we ought not to accept the fact that it was a long way south of it.

If Ptolemy's evidence as to the geographic position of Iabadiou is to be disregarded completely, then, of course, anybody's guess will be as good as another's: but, if it is to be weighed logically, then Iabadiou could not be either Sumatra or Java. We must look for an island well to the *east* of the Golden Chersonese, *i.e.* the Malay Peninsula; and we must look for an island the eastern extremity of which was *north* of its western extremity. Sumatra and Java are thus ruled out and there remains Borneo. Except for the south latitude given by Ptolemy his data fit reasonably well the western coast of Borneo from Cape Api or Cape Datu to its northern extremity in which case the capital Argyre would correspond with a position where Kuching is to-day. We can, of course, only apply the main facts which Ptolemy gives us and cannot attempt any mathematical assessment of his degrees of longitude and latitude.

In considering the possibility that Borneo was Iabadiou, or Sabadios, we must not forget that Sabah is the native name for its northern promontory. Hatton in his *New Ceylon or Sabah*, 1881, says (p. 57) that "a rough line drawn across the map from the Kimanis River on the north-west coast to the Sibuco River on the east coast, will indicate the territory hitherto called Sabah, now to be better known in the future as British North Borneo." Posewitz throughout his book (246) treats of the territory of the British North Borneo Company under the heading of Sabah. When the Sultan of Brunei conferred concessions there on Baron

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 113.

Overbeck, he gave him the title of Maharajah of Sabah (246, p. 9). Ling Roth says that "in Darvel Bay there are the remnants of a tribe which seems to have been more plentiful in bygone days—the Sabahans" (247, i, p. 22). Hose and McDougall (11) call these people Sabans.

Mr. Keith, Conservator of Forests in British North Borneo, informs us that the name Sabah is better known on the west coast of British North Borneo than on its east coast or interior and he says that in Sarawak it is still commonly used for northern Borneo.

It is, of course, quite impossible to say how old is this name Sabah or what territory was originally included in it but it is legitimate to point to the fact that there still lingers in Borneo a place-name which seems to be connected with that used by Ptolemy. Dato Douglas in an interesting essay on Malay place-names¹ has pointed out that *saba* in hindustani means the easterly winds and has suggested that Ptolemy's Sabana may be connected with that. It may well be that between the name Sabah and the word *saba* there is a connection. Hamilton's *East-India Gazetteer*, 1828, calls attention to the fact that in Borneo "the names of many of the rivers, mountains, and districts, greatly resemble those of the Ultra Gangetic provinces."

If there is a native name for Borneo it would appear to be, as variously spelled, Kelamantan, Kalamantan or Klemantan. Sir Hugh Clifford in his article on Borneo in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that "by some *Klemantan* has been declared to be its native name, but for this there is scant warranty, natives of the Archipelago speaking invariably of a particular part of the island, never of the island as a whole." It may be noted, however, that Hunt was quite definite in saying that "the natives and the Malays, formerly, and even at this day, call this large island by the *exclusive* name of *Pulo Kalamantan*, from a sour and indigenous fruit so called" (248, p. 12a). Mr. Hughes-Hallett in his recent essay on the history of Brunei writes that "the native name for this island of Borneo has always been Pulau Kelamantan."² Hamilton's *East-India Gazetteer* says that "the kingdom of Borneo, or Brunei, by Europeans termed Borneo proper, having been the first state visited by them, may have given rise to the erroneous application of the name to the whole island, which by the native inhabitants, and throughout the eastern archipelago, is universally termed Pulo Klemantan"; and again "the natives call their island Klemantan, or Quallamontan". Sir Hugh Low (249, p. 3) says that "the natives of Borneo in general have no idea that

¹This Journal, vol. XVI, Pt. 1, pp. 150-2.

²This Journal, vol. XVIII, Pt. 2, p. 23.

their country is an island : it is only the Malays and inhabitants of the sea-coasts, whose maritime pursuits have necessarily forced upon them the knowledge of its insular position, who have one comprehensive term for the countries which comprise it. These call it Tanah Kalamantan, and occasionally Pulo Kalamantan, or the island Kalamantan ; but this term is usually restricted to what we would call an islet, large countries being designated Tanah, or land—a word nearly similar in signification to our term continent—their language having no other expression equivalent to that geographical term, and consequently more appropriate to this land, than the term Pulo."

In his recent essay on the natives of Sarawak¹ Mr. Banks writes of the Kalamantans but the origin of this expression must be borne in mind. Hose and McDougall (11, i, p. 30) distinguished amongst the pagan tribes of Borneo six principal groups (1) Sea Dayaks or Ibans (2) Kayans (3) Kenyahs (4) Klemantans (5) Muruts and (6) Punans. Under the expression Klemantans "we group a number of tribes which, though in our opinion closely allied, are widely scattered in all parts of Borneo, and present considerable diversities of language and custom" (*ibid.* p. 34). Hose (250, p. 34) explains the name Klemantan in this connection as "one recently devised." "The name Pulo Klemantan (the Mango Country) is that given by Malays to the whole island." Klemantan, therefore, as used to indicate human beings is a scientific term of recent invention.

Treacher (251, p. 15) writes that "in some works, Pulau Kalamantan, which would signify *wild mangoes island*, is given as the native name for Borneo, but it is quite unknown, at any rate throughout North Borneo, and the island is by no means distinguished by any profusion of wild mangoes." In a footnote he says that "the explanation *Sago Island* has been given, *lamantah*, being the native term for the raw sago sold to the factories." Mr. Banks in the essay cited has much that is interesting as to sago-eaters in Borneo.

Crawfurd in his *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, 1856, says "it may be noticed that Borneo has been sometimes called by the Malays Kalamantan. This word is the name of a species of wild mango, and the word at full length would simply mean Isle of Mangoes. The name however is mythic, and neither a popular or well-known one."

Is it possible that the name of mango may have been caused by the shape of the island? Dr. Chhabra has already called attention in connection with the name Yava to an ancient Indian

¹This Journal, vol. XVIII, Pt. 2, pp. 49-54.

habit of naming islands from their shapes and in doing so instanced Amra-dvipa meaning Mango Island¹. Did the Malays do the same thing?

It is quite impossible to say how old the name of Kelamantan is but it would seem to have been a purely Malay name for the island.

The Portuguese appear to have invented the name Borneo which was their version of Bruni or Brunei. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this ancient and once powerful Malay state possessed vastly more territory than it does to-day. As stated in Hamilton's *East-India Gazetteer* "the sea-coast of this State extends about 700 miles, with a depth of territory inland of from 100 to 150 miles. To the west it confines on Sambas at Tajong Data² lat : 3° N., lon : 110° 36' E ; to the east it is bounded by the tract claimed by the Sooloos, marked by the mouth of the Sandakan river in lat. 5° 50' N., long. 118° 15' E." Posewitz (246, p. 10) says that "up to about fifty years ago the whole of North Borneo from Cape Datu in the west to the River Sibuco in the East, belonged to the kingdom of Brunei." Hunt in his Report to Raffles in 1812 (248, pp. 12-30, a) said that Borneo was divided between three great states Brunei, Sukadana and Banjer-massing, as he wrote it

Ptolemy, of course, does not give full positions for Iabadiou but only those of its metropolis Argyre, which was situated at its western extremity, and of its eastern extremity. As we have said, these positions fit reasonably well the coast from Tanjong Api or Tanjong Datu to the northern promontory. If this is accepted, then, as we shall see, the reputation for gold and silver came from territories around Kuching and to the south of it and not from the part of the island to which the name Sabah is now attached.

Moens identifies both Yava-dvipa and Iabadiou as names for the Malay Peninsula (241, p. 100) though he also admits the Golden Chersonese to be the Malay Peninsula (*ibid.* p. 47). We shall refer again to these views.

Ferrand in the latest consideration which he gave to the matter said that there is an absence of decisive geographic precision in the data afforded by the *Ramayana* and Ptolemy ; and he said that the choice of Sumatra is easy because it is the only place which by its richness in gold could be considered (140, pp. 118-9) and it seems clear that in Ferrand's view Sumatra is the only place in Malaysia famous for gold (*ibid.* also at pp. 120,

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 79.

²i.e. Tanjong Datu.

148, 153, 162). He repeated this idea in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (252) where he identifies Yava-dvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou, Tchou-po and Ye-po-ti with Sumatra. Ferrand was also influenced by the fact that the Malay name for Sumatra is *Pulau Mas* or Gold Island.

He was, of course, wrong in thinking that Sumatra was the only place in Malaysia famous for its gold because both the Malay Peninsula and Borneo were.

Turning to the early descriptions of Borneo in English at the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. we find that it was famous for gold, which came from the southern part of the region to which Ptolemy's facts seem to point and we find, moreover, that this region was celebrated then for its fertility. The reader is referred to the articles on Borneo in Moor's *Notices* (248) where he will find Dr. Leyden's description of the island in addition to Hunt's Report from which we have already quoted.

Earl writes of the western part of Borneo that "no country in the world can compete with it" and he says that this part of the island "in addition to the possession of a soil which vies in richness with that of any other island in the Archipelago, contains inexhaustible mines of gold and diamonds which are so easily wrought that the inhabitants are enabled to procure considerable quantities of both with the most inefficient instruments" (253, pp. 240-1).

Writing at the beginning of the present century Guillemard says that there are few rivers in Borneo which are not auriferous (254, p. 247).

The reader should consult Posewitz for full details as to all minerals in Borneo. He says (246, p. 312) that "the island of Borneo has long had the well-deserved reputation of being rich in gold. The occurrence of the noble metal was, probably, known to the earliest Hindoo population," and again "when the first diggings were made is not known; but it is certain that the noble metal has been won by the natives since the earliest times. Its mode of occurrence, as alluvial or drift gold, made it easy to obtain; and its application for purpose of ornament and exchange, caused the natives to search for it." He also says (p. 316) "if we are to give credence to the reports and statements of the natives, the greater number of the rivers of Borneo contain gold-sand in greater or less quantity. This has been confirmed, partly by mining investigations, partly by scientific travellers, as well as by the reports of European officials." Low has much to say about gold in Sarawak (249) and all the books about Borneo emphasize it as being a gold-bearing country.

1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

An examination of the sketch map by Posewitz which shows the distribution of useful minerals in Borneo shows that there is an area rich in gold and diamonds lying between Kuching and Pontianak and along the banks of the Kapuas as far as long. 114° E., while the southern tributaries of the Kapuas flow through districts containing gold and diamonds. The Bandjermasin district in the south-east of Borneo is also a producer of gold and diamonds.

But what about silver? The *Ramayana* combines gold and silver among the attributes of Yava-dvipa but Ptolemy mentions only gold. He does, however, call the capital Argyre and this has usually been taken to mean Silver but Moens, who identifies it with Ligor in the Malay Peninsula, suggests that the name may be a greek version of the sanskrit *nagara* (241, p. 56). Mr. Banks informs us that the site of the cinnabar mines near Kuching is called Tagora, and, without drawing any inferences at all, we note that fact as not uninteresting.

Could Borneo have had any reputation for silver? Campbell (255, ii, p. 895) says that "silver and gold invariably occur together in the East Indies. In some mines it is in the proportion of 7 to 1, in others only 2 to 1, but on the average 3 to 1." Writing in 1856 Crawford in his *Descriptive Dictionary* says of silver that "no veins of this metal have hitherto been discovered in any of the islands of the Malay or Philippine Archipelagoes, many of which contain such abundant stores of iron, gold, tin and antimony. A small quantity of it, however, appears to be contained in all the gold of these countries. In Malay the name for silver is perak, and in Javanese sálaka. Both are native words of which the origin has not been traced." Low (249, p. 19) says that "of the precious metals, gold is abundant; silver being unknown in the East in these latitudes, though it abounds in China and Japan." Guillemard mentions the discovery of a large vein of silver in Sarawak (254, pp. 246-7). Posewitz (246, p. 440) also refers to this discovery but the vein seems to have petered out after two years. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* does not mention silver among the minerals of Borneo. We cannot, therefore, say, as we can of gold, that Borneo must always have had a reputation for silver.

But there is another possible explanation for the silver reputation if Borneo was Iabadiou or Yava-dvipa. Borneo is famous for its antimony or stibnite which is used for dyeing sarongs. Earl says (253, p. 311) that the Malays of Sambas painted flowers on their dresses with a preparation of antimony ore giving it a bright and permanent steel colour and that clothes thus adorned were much valued. The first Rajah Brooke of Sarawak profited a great deal from the antimony in his country and Marryat (256) has some interesting notes as to this and also

as to gold in Sarawak. He says that "the antimony is obtained from the side of a hill, the whole of which is supposed to be formed of this valuable mineral. The side at which the men are at work shines like silver during the day, and may be seen several miles distant, strangely contrasting with the dark foliage of the adjoining jungles" (*ibid* : p. 9). Both Low (249) and Hose (257) mention that antimony occurs at places in Sarawak in the form of an outcrop and the latter says (p. 196) that "in colour Stibnite resembles pewter or unpolished silver, from which fact it gets its native name *Batu Perak* (silver rock)." Posewitz also mentions that the native name for antimony-ore is *batu perak* (246, p. 412, n. 1) and writing of silver (p. 440) he says that "in W. Borneo the natives report that silver-ores occur in the rivers Spauk and Skadau. But samples of these could not be obtained. Perhaps there has been some mistake here as the natives include the antimony ores under the term *Batu Perak* (silver-stone)."

Before leaving this question, we might interpolate that stibnite is not a noticeable mineral in the Malay Peninsula. Scrivenor writing in Burkill's *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula* says that stibnite has been found in gold mines in Pahang and at places in the Kinta Valley and in Upper Perak but that no deposits of commercial value have been found. It would not seem, therefore, that the presence of antimony might afford a clue to the mystery involved in the name of the State of Perak¹.

We can say that there are two explanations for the statement in the *Ramayana*, either that Yava-dvipa contained mines of gold and mines of silver or that it contained mines of gold and silver mixed; and in the case of the former that instead of silver we might read antimony if Borneo was Yava-dvipa.

Crawfurd, however, in his *Descriptive Dictionary* says of antimony that "this metal, until lately unknown to the natives of the East, as it was to Europeans until the fifteenth century, was found for the first time in Borneo, in 1823, on the north-western coast of that island. It exists in several places there, but mines of it have been worked only in Sarawak." We do not know what authority he had for his statement that antimony was "until lately" unknown to the natives of the East but it seems impossible that so bright an ore occurring in outcrops could have escaped notice or that, having been noticed, Indians, Chinese and others did not extract it.

It seems clear, then, that if Yava-dvipa and Iabadiou were Borneo, the attributes of fertility, gold and silver would apply to the district round Kuching and between it and Pontianak.

¹See this Journal, vol. XVII, Pt. 4, pp. 183-4

Gerini who professed to work out Ptolemy's data mathematically came to the strange conclusion that Iabadiou was Sumatra and thought that he had established that proposition conclusively although he agreed that the Golden Chersonese was the Malay Peninsula. Gerini, of course, "rectified" Ptolemy's positions after methods of his own but how is it possible to locate on the west of the Malay Peninsula an island the positions of which Ptolemy most definitely places well to the east of it?

Majumdar states that Ptolemy "definitely mentions Java under the name of Iabadiou or Sabadiou" (181, p. 98). He also says that "the obvious identification of Ptolemy's Iabadiou (=Yavadvipa) with Java has been questioned by some authorities" (*ibid.*). But what is there obvious about it? and how did Ptolemy definitely mention any such thing?

Majumdar then sets out what he states to be the arguments against Java and says that "a little reflection" will destroy them. He says that "Ptolemy's reference to the abundance of gold in Java" must have been based on "general popular notions rather than any geological examination of the soil." The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 12 p. 978, says that "of all the great islands of the archipelago Java is poorest in metallic ores. Gold and silver are practically non-existent." How could such an island ever have given rise to a general popular notion that it contained an abundance of gold?

Majumdar, following Pelliot (129, p. 127), also refers to an inscription of the eighth century A.D. found in Java itself which, he says, refers to that island as Yava-dvipa and praises it for its richness in gold mines. If that were the fact, then it would merely prove that in the eighth century A.D. the present island of Java was known as Yava-dvipa, and nothing more; but is it the fact?

The inscription to which Majumdar refers is known as the charter of Changal or Tjanggal and is the earliest dated inscription so far found in Java. It was discovered more than fifty years ago amongst ruins on a hill named Gunong Wukir near Burabudur in Central Java and can now be seen in the Batavia Museum. It tells of the establishment of a *linga* sanctuary by a king named Sanjaya in 732 A.D., the exact date, which is given, corresponding to the 6th of October in that year (138, p. 35).

Every important matter in connection with this inscription is the subject of controversy; the re-construction of the missing parts, the correct translation of the sanskrit, and the interpretation of the statements made in the inscription. Its evidentiary value is, therefore, not too high. A translation into English of the whole of the charter will be found in Chatterjee (192, Pt. 2,

pp. 32-4) while considerations of it are to be found by Chhabra (138 and 258), Ferrand (140, pp. 120, 161-2), Majumdar (181, pp. 229-234), Nilakanta Sastri (187, pp. 500-5) and Stutterheim (259 and 260).

The references to Yava-dvipa occur in the 7th and 8th verses of the charter.

The authorities are not agreed as to the proper way in which the sanskrit of the 7th verse should be reconstructed. The following translations into english of that verse are available :—

(1) Nilakanta Sastri (187, p. 500) " There is an excellent island, called Yava, abounding in grain and other seeds and endowed with gold mines ; it was taken hold of by the gods. . . . There is a most divine and miraculous seat of Sambhu (Siva), for the well-being of the world, brought over as it were from the family established in the blessed land of Kunjarakunja " ;

(2) Kern (260, p. 76) " There is¹ an excellent, unequalled island, named Java, exceedingly fertile in corn and other grains, rich with gold-mines ; it was taken into possession by the immortals by . . . and so forth ; there is a most wonderful miraculous sanctuary of Siva, conducive to the welfare of the world, (and) brought over from the " clan " settled in the blessed land Kunjarakun-jadesa, like one calls it " ;

(3) Stutterheim (260, p. 79) " There was an excellent, unequalled island, named Java, excelling in corn and other grains, furnished with gold-mines and therefore taken into possession by the immortals. . . . ; (on that island) was a most wonderful, miraculous sanctuary for Siva, conducive to the welfare of the world, surrounded by holy streams, in the first place the Ganga, (and) situated in the blessed district Kunjarakunja " ;

(4) Chatterjee (192, pp. 33-4) " There was an excellent island called Yava incomparable (to others), which contained an abundance of grains such as rice and others, which was possessed of gold mines and which was acquired . . . by the gods. There was the wonderful and most excellent place (*i.e.* temple) of Siva tending to the welfare of the world, which was supplied as it were from the family settled in the illustrious land of Kunjarakunja. "

The rest of the charter is translated into English by Chatterjee only. The 8th verse is as follows :—" In that noble island called Yava which became the great characteristic of . . . of men, there

¹But Ferrand (140, p. 161) shows that Kern began his translation with the words "There was ".

was the foremost of kings of exalted birth whose name was Sanna, who was of great fame and who, out of attachment to his subjects, rules in a proper way through (the peaceful methods of) conciliation and gift, like a father (ruling) the child from his very birth and who, with his foes subdued, protects the earth for a long time with justice like Manu."

The 9th verse refers again to Sanna ; and the 11th verse says that " the son of (the king) named Sannaha is the king the illustrious Sanjaya " etc.

It will be noted that in the translations of the 7th verse there is a difference, some beginning with the words " There is " while others begin with " There was. " As the sanskrit has *āsīt* indicating the past the latter are accurate. Kern drew attention to this fact (140, p. 120) and Moens also comments upon it (241, p. 46). He says that Pelliot's comparison of Yava-dvipa with Java relied upon the erroneous interpretation of Sanjaya's inscription. He says that the Yava-dvipa in the inscription was the place where Sanjaya's ancestors ruled before their emigration to Java. Stutterheim does not agree with this (260, p. 84, n. 1.) : but obviously the view of Moens is a tenable one.

It is usually said that Sannaha was an alternative for Sanna so that this king is called " Sanna or Sannaha " and Sanjaya is said to be his son. But is this certain ? Might there not have been three different kings—the ancestral *rajakūla* Sanna, Sannaha and his son Sanjaya ? Why should the inscriptionist use the name Sanna in the 8th and 9th verses and then change it to Sannaha in the 11th ?

Finally, there is much controversy as to the latter part of the 7th verse which refers to the land of Kunjarakunja

Majumdar concludes his reference to Iabadiou by saying that " we may thus accept the view that Ptolemy knew this island of Java under its Hindu name. His account of Java, as quoted above, together with the latitude of its chief town given by him, certainly shows that he possessed a somewhat detailed knowledge of the place " (*ibid* : pp. 98-99). But why pick out the latitude of Argyre and ignore all the other positions given by Ptolemy ? Surely not because that alone, being 8° 30' S. Ptolemaic, might correspond with a latitude for Java. If Ptolemy's evidence is to be used at all, then all of it must be considered.

The following three propositions seem to be established upon the evidence :—

(1) since Yava-dvipa and Iabadiou were each famous for gold and the former for silver, neither of them could have been Java ;

(2) since Iabadiou was east of the Peninsula and its eastern extremity was north of its western, it could not have been Sumatra nor could it have been Java ;

(3) since Ptolemy shows most clearly that his Iabadiou was a completely different place from his Golden Chersonese and since the latter most clearly was the Malay Peninsula, Iabadiou could not have been that Peninsula.

The only answer to these propositions is the Changgal inscription but when this answer is examined it will be found to consist of two beggings of the question. The answer is that the present island of Java was Yavadvipa because the inscription says so and that there must have been a popular notion that it contained gold because the inscription says so. In the first place, as we have said, it is not certain at all that the inscription does identify Yavadvipa with Java since it is equally possible that it merely gave Yavadvipa as the home of the ancestral Sanna. In the second place, it is inconceivable that there could be a popular notion in a place where gold was unknown that the place contained gold mines. People might well think that all parts of an island famous for gold contained gold, although some of these parts did not ; they might even think that a place which in fact contained no gold did contain that metal ; but it surely is impossible that at any time of its history the present island of Java could have been popularly thought to be " adorned with mines of gold," as the *Ramayana* has it, or " rich with gold-mines," as the Changal inscription has it ; not *gold*, be it noted, but *gold-mines*. The use of the word " mines " indicates an actual fact, the fact of mining. Finally, even if the answer of the Changgal inscription were correct, it would merely prove that in the eighth century A.D. Java was thought to be the ancient Yava-dvipa ; not that it was but that it was thought at that time to be. A statement in the eighth century A.D. is surely not proof of a fact in the middle of the second.

Tchou-po Tchou-po¹ (Chu-po) is a Chinese toponym which appears to date from the third century A.D. The only evidence as to its geographic position is that it was on a great island east of Funan in the Chang-hai or Great Sea, which all are agreed was the Chinese way of expressing the China Sea from the island of Hainan down to the Straits of Malacca, in other words what we call the South China Sea. The only facts which we are told about it are that the women of the place knew how to weave cotton with flower patterns.

Ferrand thought that Tchou-po was Sumatra ; Gerini that it was Borneo and that part of the island called Sabah, *i.e.* British North Borneo ; Majumdar is uncertain whether to accept Pelliot's

¹This Journal, vol. XVII, Pt. 1, pp. 206-7.

early identification of it as Java or Ferrand's identification as Sumatra (181, p. 101) but he mentions nowhere the fact that Pelliot later took it to represent "Sumatra-Java"; Moens considers it to have been Tubuk, capital of Mindanao (241, pp. 33-6).

Chinese directions are not, of course, absolutely accurate; they can only be used in a general sense. We must look for a place east of Funan, *i.e.* Cambodia and Cochin-China, and in the South China Sea. Obviously Sumatra and Java are out of the question and equally obviously Borneo fits. The weaving of cotton cloth with floral patterns is, of course, in keeping with many places in Malaysia and has not positive value as evidence; but it fits with Borneo.

We shall consider the name of Tchou-po later on and for the moment merely note that etymologically it can be correlated with the sound *Java*.

Tou-po. We must introduce now the facts as to Tou-po. Pelliot says that in the *T'ung Tien* and the *T'ai ping yu lan* there are notices concerning Tou-po which are attributed to the Sui dynasty 589-618 A.D., but he goes on to show that in fact it must have been known in the middle of the third century A.D. and that in reality it is the same place as Tchou-po (129, pp. 275-8). Laufer also has the same opinion (147). We have introduced Tou-po, therefore, as a third century toponym but it must be noted that both Moens and Majumdar treat it as sixth century though neither of them refers to Pelliot's views.

It is unfortunate in view of its importance that the only notice of Tou-po of which a full translation is available is that in Ma Tuan-lin. Pelliot refers to the notices in the *T'ung Tien* and *T'ai p'ing yu lan* of which he gives a very short summary and he refers also to other untranslated notices and references.

Ma Tuan-lin says that Tou-po was first heard of during the Sui dynasty and that it was situated east of Funan in the Great Sea: it took several tens of days to reach there. Its inhabitants had pale skins and intelligent faces; and they wore clothes. The men cultivated rice and the women wove cloth with flower patterns. The soil of the country contained gold, silver and iron, and gold money was used. A special kind of perfume is mentioned which was used for the breath but not the clothes and which was extracted from the flowers of a tree that grew on the river banks and gave out a perfume so strong and noxious that animals avoided it and human beings feared to breathe it. When in full bloom, the flowers of the tree fell and were carried along by the river so that they could be gathered. The island of Tou-po contained more than ten cities, the capitals of as many small states whose chiefs all took the title of king (230, pp. 513-4).

Ferrand thought that Tou-po was Java and Gerini that it was Borneo; Majumdar says that Pelliot "has, with good reasons, identified" it with Java (181, p. 111). But Pelliot in the passage to which Majumdar must be referring admitted that it could be Borneo. Moreover, since he considers it to have been the same as Tchou-po, under his latest identification he would call it "Sumatra-Java".

Moens takes Tchou-po and Tou-po to be the same places and considers them to have been Tubuk, the capital of Mindanao (241, pp. 33-4).

It seems quite clear that Tou-po is a variant for Tchou-po and that both names refer to the same place.

As Tou-po was an island east of Funan in the South China Sea we must say of it the same as we said of Tchou-po, that it could not be Sumatra or Java but that Borneo fits. We are, however, in possession of valuable facts concerning Tou-po and we must see what results can be derived from those facts.

In the first place, the island of Tou-po was obviously a large one since it contained more than ten cities, the capitals of as many states; and in this connection we should remember the seven kingdoms of Yava-dvipa.

Then, Tou-po was a rich island since it used a gold coinage and contained gold, silver and iron. Borneo contains all three. Very fine steel is made by its inhabitants from its iron as all the accounts of Borneo to which we have referred above mention. Java could not have been noted by the Chinese as containing these three metals: nor could the Malay Peninsula which, though it contains iron and gold, is not known to contain silver.

Could Sumatra have been so known? The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 21, p. 552, says that gold and silver are mined on the west coast of Sumatra and in Bencoolen and it mentions magnetite amongst the minerals found in the island. Crawford in his *Descriptive Dictionary* and Marsden in his *History of Sumatra* both refer to iron ore in Sumatra and the making of tools and weapons from this iron. Collet mentions iron in the Lampong district (255, p. 31). It is clear then that Sumatra would answer in this respect.

But Sumatra was not in the Great Sea and therefore does not answer in that respect. We are left then with Borneo only which both answers geographically and contains the three metals mentioned.

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Rice and cotton-weaving, of course, also fit in the picture ; but what of the strange perfume ? Is there such a tree in Borneo or elsewhere ? We have propounded this question to Mr. Keith, the Conservator of Forests in British North Borneo, to Mr. Holtum, Director of Botanic Gardens in Singapore, and to Mr. Corner, the Assistant Director. Mr. Keith says that he has consulted intelligent natives of various tribes but they all say that they know nothing of such a tree and he has not been able to identify it though he refers to the Pandan tree as also does Mr. Holtum. Mr. Corner suggests the *genus Barringtonia* and particularly the species *racemosa*. This is a common riverside tree, he says, with large heavily fragrant flowers that fall off and float on the river, and the large seeds are poisonous, being used as *tuba* or as pig-poison. This is the tree which the Malays call *putat*.

One must, of course, not take the Chinese notices as completely accurate accounts or as written by persons with first-hand knowledge. As Hirth says " the information regarding foreign countries, we must assume, was entered in the chronicles from depositions made by the various foreigners arriving at the Court of China " and " it looks as if the foreigner, on or before being introduced at Court, was subjected to a kind of cross-examination, and that a uniform set of question was addressed to him by means of one or several interpreters " (261, p. 11). Actually, the information about Tchou-po and Tou-po would seem, according to Pelliot, to date from the third century embassy to Funan of K'ang Tai and Chu Ying who gathered as much information as they could about places in the south seas which, however, they did not visit.

Assuming that the tree is reasonably well identified as the *Barringtonia racemosa*, it is, of course, common throughout Malaysia and is not peculiar to Borneo, though it is worthy of note that Low mentions the *Barringtonia* as a feature of the Bornean landscape (249, p. 30).

Summarizing the facts about Tou-po we can say that, while the geographic details point to Borneo rather than Sumatra or Java, the other details are in accord and that Java is ruled out not merely by its geographical position but also by the fact that Tou-po was noted for producing gold, silver and iron.

We shall deal later with the name Tou-po and merely remark here that it can be correlated etymologically with the sound *Java*.

Ye-po-ti. We now reach the fifth century A.D. and Fahien's Ye-po-ti.

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We propose first to set before the reader the exact facts as given by Fa-hien and then to submit upon those facts that the one thing most certain is that, wherever it may have been, Ye-po-ti was not Java. We suggest that, however explosive the results may be, this conclusion is inescapable. Gerini reached it and recently Moens has reached it. We reached it ourselves after a study of the facts as to winds and navigation available in sailing directories; and we submitted our views to Mr. Grimes, the Government Meteorologist at the Singapore Air-port, and he has confirmed them in the light of the very accurate knowledge of the winds, which is possessed to-day as the result of air travel. We refer the reader to the accompanying essay by Mr. Grimes and to the wind charts which he exhibits there.

Fa-hien sailed for Ceylon from India from the port of Tamralipti or Tamluk, which was in the present Midnapur district at the mouth of the Hoogly River. After a stay in Ceylon for two years he shipped in 413 A.D. on a large merchant vessel which carried about two hundred men.

The following are the facts as given in the translation by Giles; we have underlined what seem to us to be the most important of them.

"Catching a fair wind, they sailed westward for two¹ days; then they encountered a heavy gale, and the vessel sprang a leak".

We are told that "the gale blew on for fifteen days and nights, when they arrived alongside of an island". Here the vessel was beached and the leak was caulked, after which they again put to sea on their journey.

There follow descriptions of the sea, which Fa-hien says was "infested with pirates to meet whom is death", and of the storm, after which the narrative says "*when the sky had cleared, they were able to tell east from west and again to proceed on their proper course*"; but had they struck a hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape".

Giles then translates thus:—"And so they went on for more than ninety days until they reached a country named Java, where heresies and Brahmanism were flourishing, while the Faith of Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition".

Actually, of course, the country was named Ye-po-ti and Beal in his translation adds in brackets after that name "*Java, or perhaps,² Sumatra*".

¹Legge in his translation gives three days; but both Beal and Groeneveldt agree with Giles.

²These italics are in the original and are not mine.—R.B.

Having remained in Ye-po-ti "*for five months or so*" (that is, of course, Chinese moons) Fa-hien "again shipped in a large merchant vessel which also carried over two hundred persons. They took with them *provision for fifty days* and *set sail on the 16th day of the 4th moon*".

"A north-east course was set in order to reach Canton".

The ship sailed on for a month and some days when, during the middle watch of the night, a black squall came upon it and a deluge of rain. This storm went on so that nearly seventy days had elapsed from the time when they sailed and their provisions were almost finished. The merchants consulted together and in his report of their conversation Fa-hien records that they said "the proper time for the voyage to Canton was about fifty days".

The ship was then put upon a north-west course and after twelve days' continuous sail they arrived off the coast of China at Tsing-chow on the borders of the prefecture of Chang-kwang. It was then the 14th day of the 7th moon.

The following important facts, accordingly, are stated by Fa-hien :—

(1) leaving Ceylon the ship sailed eastward on a fair wind for two days ;

(2) a storm then arose and after it had abated the ship proceeded on her proper course ;

(3) Fa-hien disembarked at Ye-po-ti where he remained for five moons or so ;

(4) he sailed from Ye-po-ti for Canton on the 16th day of the 4th moon ;

(5) in order to get there a north-east course was set ;

(6) the normal maximum for this voyage was fifty days.

Before assessing the results which derive from those facts it is necessary to appreciate the type of ship upon which Fa-hien would have sailed and the prevailing winds above and below the equator.

Fa-hien does not tell us what kind of a ship he used except that it was large enough to carry two hundred men. It would seem that it was not a Chinese but a foreign ship (179, 2, p. 70). Whether it was an Indian ship, or a Chinese or a Persian or a Ceylonese, it most certainly was one which could not sail against a head wind.

Mr. Wilkinson has written recently¹ that "a junk could only run before the wind" but that probably goes too far. At all events we know that Chinese junks in the twelfth century A.D. could use "not only a stern wind, but wind off or towards the shore can also be used. It is only a head-wind which drives them backward. This is called "using the wind of three directions." When there is a head-wind they can heave the anchor and stop" (226, p. 30):

In fairness we must allow for the use to a reasonable extent of a moderate beam wind by Fa-hien's ship.

An examination of Hornell's well-known monograph (41) and a consideration of the facts given by Hirth and Rockhill (226) and Kuwabara (179) make it absolutely clear that, whatever was the kind of ship which carried Fa-hien, it could only have used favourable winds and could not have sailed against a head-wind.

This fact is made even more clear when we study the Asiatic shipping which used to frequent the port of Singapore during the early decades of the last century. Excellent descriptions of these craft will be found in Crawford (84), Earl (253), Davidson (262), Cameron (263) and Finlayson (264). It is clear that none of them could sail against a head-wind and that all of them depended upon the fair winds.

Even the early European-rigged mercantile shipping that carried the trade between India and China could not sail against the NE monsoon up to China and it was for that reason that the so-called opium clippers came into being. Lubbock's book (265) is full of facts about the India-China trade and should be consulted. He points out how the "country ships", as they were called, which carried the trade, could not sail against the NE monsoon so that until the advent of the clippers the commodities of the China trade had to put up with one season only. It was not until January, 1830,² that the first of the opium clippers, the *Red Rover*, designed by Captain Clifton, sailed to China against the NE monsoon. This feat enabled three voyages to be made in twelve months instead of two (one up and one back) as before and was such a boon to the trade that Captain Clifton was presented with £10,000.

Since the ancient sailing ships could only travel upon fair winds, it is obvious that, if we know these winds, we also know the main trade-routes by sea between India and China and in the Malay Archipelago and the Gulf of Siam.

¹See this Journal, vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 141.

²Buckley in his *Anecdotal History of Singapore*, vol. 1, pp. 324-5, gives the date wrongly but he was citing from W. H. Read's *Play and Politics* where the mistake was made.

We have already written something about the monsoons north of the equator¹ but we have said nothing as yet concerning those south of it ; nor have we given any detailed information as to the winds in the seas with which we are concerned in this essay.

Since we believe that it is impossible to understand the accounts of ancient sea voyages and ancient geography without a clear understanding of the main facts about the prevailing monsoons we propose to set out those facts, basing ourselves upon the appropriate Admiralty *Pilots*² and Horsburgh's *India Directory*, 1826.

The prevailing winds over the regions with which we are concerned are determined by natural phenomena and we can be certain that during all relevant periods the facts concerning these winds have been constant, though the knowledge of them and their use has doubtless varied.

These prevailing winds, called monsoons, are determined by the main average distributions of pressure. Thus during the winter of the northern hemisphere while the interior of the continent of Asia is covered by an anticyclone, the winds blow round this anticyclone, in accordance with Buys Ballot's law, in a clockwise direction and inclined outwards. The resulting wind is the NE monsoon, which, speaking generally, blows from October or November until March. In the summer of the northern hemisphere an area of low pressure lies over the continent of Asia and pressure is higher south of the equator. Round this area of low pressure the winds blow counter-clockwise. The resulting wind is the SW monsoon, which, speaking generally, blows from June to September. April and May, and the end of September and the beginning of October are transition months, when the winds are variable. The monsoon winds fluctuate considerably in strength following the variations in the pressure distributions. Squalls are common during both monsoons, the most dangerous being those that are known as arch squalls, when the clouds are seen rising from the horizon in the form of an arch.

But south of the equator the monsoons are not the same. In the northern hemisphere the winds blow clockwise round a high-pressure system and counter-clockwise round a low pressure ; but in the southern hemisphere it is *vice versa*. Hence in the northern winter, when pressure is very high over Central Asia and low over Australia, the gradient of pressure being directed approximately from NNW to SSE across the equator, the NE monsoon of

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, pp. 109-110.

²These are the *Bay of Bengal Pilot*, 1931 ; the *Malacca Strait Pilot*, 1934 ; the *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, vol. 2, 1934, and 4, 1939 ; the *China Sea Pilot*, vols. 1, 1937, and 2, 1936.

the China seas reaches the equator between 105° and 120° E as a northerly wind and is further deviated on crossing the equator, continuing towards Australia as a NW or WNW wind. This is usually called the NW monsoon and its period of blowing corresponds with that of the NE north of the equator. During the northern summer pressure is low over Central Asia and high over Australia ; and a system of SE monsoon winds blow from the direction of Australia, reaching the equator from approximately southward and being further deviated into the SW monsoon of the China Seas.

When, then, the monsoon north of the equator is blowing from the SW it is blowing from the SE south of it ; and when it is blowing from the NE north of the equator, it is blowing from the NW south of it.

The India-China trade proceeded upon the monsoons north of the equator. That fact is absolutely certain and it involved the creation of entrepôts since trade, besides following the easiest route, prefers the cheapest methods. A shift of cargo at convenient points on or near the Straits of Malacca was obviously cheaper and more expeditious than carriage right through with the long delay attendant upon changes of wind. The China goods came down on the NE monsoon and, if they were to continue in the same ship to India, they would have to wait somewhere until the wind changed.

Since the India-China trade proceeded upon the monsoons north of the equator, it is inconceivable that any of its entrepôts would have been situated in Java.

In Ptolemy's time there were entrepôts at Takola in the north and Sabana in the south, both of them being in the Golden Chersonese or Malay Peninsula. The northern entrepot doubtless collected the trade from the Gulf of Siam and was served by land-routes across the Malay Peninsula. The southern entrepot besides collecting the trade from China would handle that from the regions south of the equator.

We can get a good idea from what used to go on in Singapore in the early days. The sailing ships from China, Siam and Cochin-China used to arrive on the NE monsoon in January, February and March, and sail back on the SW in April, May or June at the latest. In 1841 a few Chinese junks delayed their departure until the middle of July but several were lost with valuable cargoes and the lesson was not lost upon their successors.¹

¹Buckley, *Anecdotal History of Singapore*, vol. 1, p. 323.

Earl notes that the north of Borneo was so situated with respect to the monsoons that voyages to and from Cochin-China could be made with the greatest facility at all times of the year (253, p. 323) and Moor (248, p. 13) says that trade between Singapore and the west coast of Borneo was able to proceed during either monsoon, the *prahus* making two voyages a year, one every six months. Dr. Leyden noted that the Chinese junks came down from Amoy to Pontianak about February and sailed back about June. Crawford in 1822 on his mission to Siam sailed from Singapore during the NE monsoon on February 27th and after passing Cape Rumenia and Pedro Branca stood across to Borneo, the high land of which he sighted on March 2nd, on which day the noon observation gave $1^{\circ} 33' N.$, twenty miles to windward of the mouth of the Sambas River, "between which and that of Pontiana lies the country so well known in these parts for its extensive production of gold. We had no sooner approached the coast of Borneo, than the water became smooth, the winds variable, and there was no longer a southerly current" (84, 1, p. 89). The ship then went about and sailing past High Island or Sapata¹, the most southern of the Natunas, stood for Pulau Obi and Cambodia.

It is obvious, then, that the west coast of Borneo would have been favourably situated for a southern entrepot of the India-China trade.

Bugis craft from Celebes and elsewhere in the Malay Archipelago came to Singapore in October and November.

Let us now see what results from the six facts about Fa-hien's voyage which we have set out.

The first of those facts tells us that Fa-hien was making for the Straits of Malacca. The favourable wind was obviously the SW monsoon. We know that he sailed from Ye-po-ti on the 16th day of the 4th moon which would have been in May. He had stayed there for five moons or so and therefore would have arrived in December or perhaps November. He was at least 90 days getting from Ceylon to Ye-po-ti; therefore he could not have left Ceylon later than September or August.

At Ceylon the SW monsoon begins about the middle of May as a rule but in the Bay of Bengal it is not fully established until the latter half of June. This monsoon is stronger on the eastern coasts than on the western coasts of Ceylon. August is a fine month with fresh winds from SW to WSW veering at times to WNW between Galle and Colombo. In September fresh WSW winds prevail.

¹Not the better known Sapata in the Catwick group.

It is then clear that the favourable wind upon which Fa-hien's ship sailed east for two days was a westerly wind and the dates show that, when he sailed, it was still the time of the SW monsoon.

Upon an eastward course with a westerly wind it is clear that Fa-hien was not bound for Java but for the Straits of Malacca ; in other words, he was on the normal sea-route for China. We would remind the reader of what we have already written as to that¹ and would add the following passage from Gerini (46, p. 607):—"it would manifestly be absurd that Fa-hien, in order to go to China, should take the round-about route by way of Java, especially as there is no evidence whatever as to such a remote and difficult route, requiring considerable skill in seamanship, ever having been used until the advent of European navigators in the Archipelago. I-tsing,² who mentions several itineraries to and fro from India and China, never speaks of passages through Sunda Strait, nor does any Arab or Chinese author or traveller, even up to the days of Chao-Ju-Kua and Ibn Batuta³. It is only when we come to the oft-quoted Chinese chart of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips⁴, that we find a route marked through Sunda Strait and thence along the whole length of the west coast of Sumatra to Acheh or Lambri, unaccompanied, however, by any sailing directions, which is a proof that it was as yet but imperfectly known and seldom used. On the contrary, the real and only route from India and Ceylon to China is laid down in the same map through the Malacca Strait. I have accordingly come to the conclusion that no ship ever proceeded from India to China *via* Sunda Strait until the advent of the Portuguese in the eastern seas".

In the days of sailing ships the winds were the seamen's roads and they show that Gerini was right quite apart from the facts which he adduces. An examination of the navigational books will show the difficulties involved in the use of the Sunda Strait by sailing ships from India and Ceylon and the pointlessness of it as compared with the easy passage through the Straits of Malacca. Moens appears to think that the Sunda Strait may have been used for the India-China trade (241, pp. 3, n. 3 ; 8 ; 19) but there is no evidence of this and plenty of reason against it.

Only to ships from Africa could Sunda Strait have presented any attraction as a gateway to China.

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 108.

²In the seventh century A.D.

³In the twelfth and fourteenth centuries A.D. respectively.

⁴This is the *Wu pei pi shu* chart, see Mills, J.R.A.S., M.B., 1937, Vol. XV, Pt. 3, pp. 1-48.

For the old India-China trade only three routes were used, so the evidence shows, until the advent of European sailors *viz* : (1) by land only, (2) by sea, across the Malay Peninsula, and again by sea, (3) by sea only. Ptolemy shows that the sea-route in his time went *via* the Straits of Malacca and we have already set out evidence of the use of land-routes across the Peninsula linking the Gulf of Siam with the Indian Ocean and Straits of Malacca.

By Fa-hien's time the sea-route was fully organized and there is evidence of the use of it by Indian monks and by Chinese monks from Fa-hien to I Tsing in the seventh century A.D. as to which the reader should consult Mukherji (245) and Anesaki (266).

It cannot be over-emphasized that the all-sea route from India and Ceylon to China was through the Straits of Malacca from Ptolemy's time until the coming of the Portuguese at all events.

Our second main fact tells us that after the storm had abated the ship got back upon its proper course. Beal and Groeneveldt in their translations make this even more clear since they write "at length, the weather clearing up, *they got their bearings and once more shaped a proper course*"¹ (242), p. 1 XXX ; 148, p. 132).

Nevertheless, Schlegel (174, X, p. 248) in 1899 wrote as follows :—"The old name of Java was *Yava dvipa*, the Island of Millet, a name given to it by the first Hindu colonists. In Prakrit this was pronounced *Yavadiu*, the *Iabadiou* of Ptolemy, and *Yava di* of Fa-hien, who was accidentally driven by storm to Java in A.D. 414, although he intended to pass by the Strait of Malacca on his voyage home to China from Ceylon".

It will be noted that, while admitting the proper course and clearly recognizing the difficulty of getting Fa-hien to Java, Schlegel, who began with a *petitio principii*, distorted his facts to save it.

So, too, does a modern writer, Chang (154, p. 5, n. 5) in a passage published in 1934 ; "The Chinese name is Yeh-p'o-t'i which has been identified with Yawadwi(pa), an old sanscrit form for Java, and this identification has been generally accepted. Recently G. Ferrand declared that Yeh-p'o-t'i must be Sumatra and not Java, because the route between Ceylon and Canton went along the coast of Palembang (Journal Asiatique, 11 ; 20, 1922, p. 221). The chief objection to Ferrand's opinion is that Yawadwipa, from which Yeh-p'o-t'i is derived, has never been used for Sumatra. On account of the adverse weather, the ship of Fa-hien diverged from its course so that we cannot expect it to have followed the ordinary route."

¹My italics.—R. B.

Quite apart from Fa-hien's definite statement that the ship was on its proper course, a knowledge of the prevailing winds makes it impossible to see how the storm which arose could possibly have driven Fa-hien's ship to Java or have caused it to have diverged there from its ordinary course.

We have seen that Fa-hien must have left Ceylon in August or September, *i.e.* on the SW monsoon, and he did not reach Ye-po-ti until December or perhaps November when the NE monsoon was blowing north of the equator. The fair season for sailing in the Straits of Malacca is the NE monsoon. Therefore Fa-hien was going on one favourable monsoon intending to pick up the other. Had he been intending to sail through the Sunda Strait he would have started upon the NE monsoon when he would have had the NW below the equator. During this latter monsoon the prevailing winds along the west coast of Sumatra down to Sunda Strait from November to March are from W to NW and that is also the best season for passing through the Sunda Strait.

When, therefore, Fa-hien's ship got back upon its proper course, it got back on the normal sea-route through the Straits of Malacca. The storm into which he ran was a natural phenomenon since in the month of September there is an average of two cyclonic storms in the Bay of Bengal, their direction being generally westward. Such storms could not possibly have driven Fa-hien to Java or have caused his ship to diverge there from its normal course.

Our third fact tells us that Fa-hien disembarked at Ye-po-ti where he remained for five moons or so.

The first thing that strikes one from the evidence is that Fa-hien went deliberately to Ye-po-ti. His language tells us that. He says that his ship proceeded upon its proper course after the storm abated and that in due course he disembarked at Ye-po-ti. He gives no explanation of why he came to be there or why he disembarked there. The inference is that Ye-po-ti was a normal place at which to disembark and that he intended to reach this place when he left Ceylon. Moens also reads the evidence in this way though there is a misprint in the translation of " Ferrand " for " Fa-hien " (241, p. 48).

Then why did Fa-hien disembark at Ye-po-ti? and why did he wait there for five moons or so? The answer is, obviously, that he was waiting for the change of monsoons and that Ye-po-ti was an entrepot.

In the southern part of the South China Sea the NE monsoon is not established southward of lat. 5° N. until November or, sometimes, December, reaching its greatest force in January and February. In the northern part it starts in the early part of 1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

October and has its greatest strength and regularity in December and January. In Singapore it is usually established in November or December and is most regular in January and February.

The SW monsoon generally begins in the second half of April and a little later in the northern part of the South China Sea but its time of commencement is variable. It begins to be felt in May and is established by the second half of that month in the southern part of the South China Sea and on the coast of Borneo. Further north it is established during June. Its maximum development is in June, July and August.

It seems clear that Fa-hien left Ceylon on a trader bound for Ye-po-ti, that he left on the SW monsoon and arrived on the NE, and that he had to wait for the change of monsoons until he could start for China.

The action of the winds always necessitated a wait somewhere for the change of monsoons whether coming from India or Ceylon to China or coming from China to Ceylon or India.

Where then was Ye-po-ti?

Our fourth and fifth facts provide the answer. They tell us that Fa-hien set sail on the 16th day of the 4th moon from Ye-po-ti to Canton and that a NE course was set. It will be remembered that the ship continued on this course for a month and some days, when it ran into a bad storm after which it changed course NW and reached China.

These facts tell us clearly that Fa-hien set forth on the SW monsoon and therefore that Ye-po-ti was north of the equator.

If Ye-po-ti had been in Java, then the monsoon would have been blowing steadily from ESE in May and Fa-hien's ship, even if it could have sailed on such a wind, could not have set a direct course for Canton by sailing NE. The ship would have had to pass through Carimata Strait and get into the South China Sea before she could have set a NE course for Canton. We must not, of course, take the NE as exact. It means merely that the ship sailed upon the SW monsoon and so went NE. We suggest that upon Fa-hien's evidence it is certain that Ye-po-ti was not in Java but somewhere served by the NE monsoon. Moens rightly says that if Fa-hien "had left Java for Canton his captain could not have left in a north-eastern direction and he could not have kept to his course during 1½ months. He would either have landed in Borneo or should have taken a northern course in the beginning" (241, p. 48). He suggests that Fa-hien disembarked on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, crossed it and sailed from Ligor. He says that "though Fa-hien's reports prove to us that Ye-p'o-t'i represents Malaya, there is no proof that he travelled *via* Java" (*ibid.*).

With regard to Moens' theory that Ye-po-ti represents Malaya, or the part of it in which there was land communication with Ligor, we must remember that for this to be so Fa-hien must have landed at some spot on the west coast and crossed to another on the east so as to sail direct to Canton upon a NE course. That means that we should have to invent evidence since Fa-hien makes no mention of it : indeed, the language of his narrative contradicts it. The next difficulty is that the time from Ceylon to Ye-po-ti would become impossibly long. The last difficulty is that if his ship had been sailing from the region of Ligor for Canton it would not have sailed direct to the spot where the storm hit it. The other and more usual route would have been taken along the coasts of Indo-China. We shall have more to say about this latter route.

Gerini and Ferrand thought that Ye-po-ti was where Palembang is to-day because they thought that Bhoga (or Fo-che), which in the time of I Tsing was one of the southern entrepôts of the China-India trade, was situated there. But assuming that Bhoga was Palembang, which is not absolutely certain as we shall see in due course, Fa-hien's time factors would not suit that place very well. The statement in the *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, vol. IV, p. 9, that NE winds prevail in Palembang in May and June is incorrect, so Mr. Grimes informs us. Had it been correct, it is obvious, of course, that Fa-hien could not have sailed in the 4th moon from there for Canton. There is this objection to Palembang that before any direct course could be set for Canton the ship would have to work its way out of the river and round the island of Banka. Palembang is some $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude south of the equator and we suggest that any place south of the equator is impossible for Ye-po-ti : it must have been north of the equator. It would, moreover, be quite illogical to assume that because Bhoga was an entrepot towards the end of the seventh century A.D. it was also one at the beginning of the fifth.

Everything points to Borneo and the region of Kuching, and, if that is so, Fa-hien's data will correlate with those of Ptolemy as to Iabadiou and the Chinese notices as to Tchou-po and Tou-po.

If Ye-po-ti was in Borneo, then it must have been in an important district and in some part from which a course could have been set direct for Canton and for that reason we have suggested the region where Kuching is to-day. It would also fit in with Fa-hien's times from Ceylon because after standing across from Singapore Strait to the Pontianak-Sambas region Capes Api and Datu would have to be rounded.

Our last fact tells us that Ye-po-ti was normally a maximum distance of 50 days from Canton : and that would fit in well enough with Kuching. Gerini allows 50 miles a day for Fa-hien's ship but in provisioning they would have to allow for bad weather and carry enough for a maximum time.

It is a noticeable fact that the date when Fa-hien sailed, *viz* : the 16th of the 4th moon, coincides with the time when the SW monsoon usually sets in properly on the coast of Borneo. He had valuable books which he was taking back to China to translate and was doubtless impatient to get home. He evidently took one of the first ships sailing, if not the very first.

As for the name Ye-po-ti, all are agreed that it is the Chinese equivalent of the Prakrit *Yavadin* and, therefore, is the equivalent of the Greek Iabadiou. It, therefore, is correlated with the sound *Yava*.

Cho-po. We pass now to the story of Gunavarman and the identification of his Cho-po, for which as usual there are other transcriptions such as Schlegel's Shay-po, Gerini's She-po and Hirth and Rockhill's Sho-po.

Gunavarman was a Kshatriya and his ancestors were hereditary rulers of Kashmir but from his youth he devoted himself to the religious life. When he was thirty he was offered the throne of Kashmir but he refused it and went to Ceylon and later Cho-po where Brahmanism was flourishing. When he arrived at Cho-po he was welcomed by the king's mother who had dreamed of his arrival. Owing to the ascendancy which he gained over her he converted her and the king to Buddhism. This king's name is given as P'o-to-k'ia. Shortly after this the soldiers of a neighbouring country, the name of which we are not told, invaded Cho-po and the king asked Gunavarman for advice. The enemy was repelled but the king received an arrow wound which Gunavarman cured. The king became more and more religious until finally he wished to abdicate. His ministers, however, implored him not to and finally he was persuaded to retain his throne ; but he made three conditions which were accepted and of these one was that throughout his kingdom Gunavarman should be obeyed. After this Buddhism became the religion of the whole kingdom and the king built a monastery for Gunavarman whose reputation spread so that neighbouring kingdoms sent messengers inviting him to visit them. In 424 A.D. monks from China came to see Gunavarman whom they persuaded to visit that country. He embarked in that year for Canton upon a ship belonging to an Indian named Nandi and he remained in China where he died at Nanking in 431 A.D.

Chavannes thinks that the conversion of Cho-po to Buddhism occurred in 423 A.D. but unfortunately the narrative gives no dates prior to 424 A.D. and we do not know how long Gunavarman lived in Cho-po.

Even more unfortunately the narrative gives no indication whatever of the situation of Cho-po or of the routes taken by Gunavarman except that he sailed direct from Cho-po to Canton.

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The narrative says that his ship had intended to go first to a "small kingdom", which is not named, but, a favourable wind rising, it went direct to Canton. That wind, of course, would have been mainly the SW monsoon. It appears, therefore, that Gunavarman's Cho-po must probably have been north of the equator. The small kingdom is usually stated to have been Champa which is quite probable though, of course, it is merely a guess. What is meant in the statement that Gunavarman's ship intended first to go to "a small kingdom" is that the original intention had been to take the coastal route along the shores of Indo-China. We have already referred to this route and shall have more to say later.

There is more information as to Cho-po in the fifth century A.D. Ma Tuan-lin under the heading of Che-po or Tou-po, as transcribed by de Saint Denys, says that during the First Sung dynasty a king, whose name in Chinese seems to represent something like Sri-pada-dhara or dvāra-varman sent an embassy to China in 435 A.D. and that thereafter Chinese relations with this country were interrupted until the great Sung dynasty, the next date given being 992 A.D. (230, p. 499).

Groeneveldt gives a short passage from the *Sung Shu* which refers to this embassy of 435 A.D. (148, p. 135). In his transcription of the name of the country as Ja-va-da Groeneveldt was rendering the Chinese Cho-po-po-ta which, as explained by Pelliot and now generally accepted, must have been a mistake caused by running together the names of two separate states, Cho-po and Po-ta (129, pp. 273-4). Pelliot refers to a number of passages in Chinese works which have not been translated and mentions the names of Cho-po-ta, Cho-po-po-ta and Cho-po-so-ta. Ma Tuan-lin has a short notice of Po-ta in which he says that the king of that country named Che-li-po-ling-kia-pa-mo sent ambassadors with various products of the country in 449 A.D. and again in 451 A.D. (230, p. 508). Gerini gives an embassy from Po-ta in the period of 420-3 A.D. (46, p. 541). There is no indication of the geographical situation of Po-ta and it can, therefore, only be noted as a name occurring in the fifth century A.D.

Pelliot (129, p. 271) and Schlegel (174, X, p. 251) both cite the *Pien-i-tien* section of the *T'u shu chi ch'eng*¹, an encyclopaedia compiled about 1700 A.D., which gives embassies from Cho-po in 433 and 435 A.D.

The above seem to be the only available references to Cho-po itself in the fifth century A.D. but there are further references to a kingdom called Ho-lo-tan which was situated in the *chou* (island or continent) of Cho-po.

¹In the last part of this essay we wrote the name in the French way (*ibid*: p. 192).

Ho-lo-tan. Ma Tuan-lin has a notice of Ho-lo-tan in which he says that in 430 A.D. it sent ambassadors who offered "a diamond mounted in a ring, parrots, Indian and Ye-po clothes, etc." (230, p. 505). Pelliot gives a passage from the *Sung Shu* which Ma Tuan-lin was evidently quoting: it says that the gifts were diamond (*kin-kang*) rings, red parrots, coarse (*ki-pei*) and fine (*po-tie*) cotton goods from India and cottons from Ye-po, which Pelliot considered to have been Gandhara in India (129, pp. 271-2). Moens, however, disagrees with Pelliot and thinks that Ye-po is really Cho-po but his reasoning is not very convincing (241, p. 18, n. 3). The mention of Indian cloth, however, is important because it shows that Ho-lo-tan had trade relations with India and the mention of diamonds shows that quite probably it was a diamond-producing country. In this last connection it is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the one and only place in Malaysia famous for diamonds is Borneo. These diamonds come from near the region where we have located Fa-hien's Ye-po-ti.

Ma Tuan-lin says that Ho-lo-tan is situated in the island of Cho-po or Tou-po. Majumdar (181, p. 103) refers to a passage from the *Sung Shu* which says that "the state of Ho-lo-tan ruled over the island of Cho-p'o". He is obviously referring to Schlegel's translation (174, x, p. 159). Schlegel, it should be noted, writes the name as Ka-la-tan. Gerini cites an article by Parker in the *China Review*, vol. XVI, p. 301, which contains a reference from the *Pei-wen yun-fu*¹ that says "The state of Ho-lo-tan has its capital at *She-p'o chou*". Parker in another article in the same Review, vol. XIII, p. 384, translates from the same source "The capital of Ho-lo-tan is on Java island" (46, p. 469, n. 3). Neither of these volumes of the *China Review* is available in Singapore.

Ma Tuan-lin says that in 433 A.D. the king of Ho-lo-tan, whose name was Pi-cha-pa-mo (Vaisavarman, according to Schlegel, or Visvavarman, according to Gerini) sent to the Emperor a letter, the text of which he records, and he adds that "some years later the prince who wrote this letter was deposed by his own son". The letter shows Buddhistic influences. In 436 A.D. envoys arrived again from Ho-lo-tan and in 449 A.D. the Emperor issued a decree in which he praised the three sovereigns of Ho-lo-tan, Po-hoang and Po-ta. Finally, says Ma Tuan-lin, a grandee of Ho-lo-tan, named Po-ho-cha-mi (Vara-svami, according to Gerini) came as ambassador in 452 A.D.

Schlegel refers to various passages in the *Sung Shu* relating to the same facts as those in Ma Tuan-lin but he does not translate them and he substitutes Pahang and Padar for Po-hoang and Po-ta.

¹This was a large dictionary published in 1711 A.D.

Pelliot says that, in addition to the embassies given above, the *Sung Shu* mentions others in 434 and 437 A.D. but he does not translate these passages (129, p. 262, n. 2). These doubtless are the embassies to which the dates 433 and 436 A.D. are assigned in the translation of Ma Tuan-lin.

These notices of Cho-po and Ho-lo-tan give us no clue whatsoever as to their geographical situation.

Po-hoang. Ma Tuan-lin (230, p. 507) has a notice of Po-hoang which comes between his notices of Ho-lo-tan and Po-ta. He tells us that in 449 A.D. the king whose name was Che-li-po-lo-pa-mo (Sri-pala-varma, according to Schlegel, or Sri Balavarman, according to Gerini) sent ambassadors with forty one different products of the country, unfortunately not specified. The Emperor bestowed titles and acknowledged the ruler as King of Po-hoang. In 451 and 456 A.D. "the same prince" sent further embassies. In 459 A.D. the king of Po-hoang (presumably a different one as the words "the same prince" are not used) sent red and white parrots. In 463 and 466 A.D. fresh embassies appeared.

Schlegel translates a passage from the *Nan-shi* very similar to that in Ma Tuan-lin and says that it occurs also in the *Sung Shu* with some slight variations of characters in some of the names (174, X, pp. 39-40). An embassy in 464 A.D. is given by Schlegel and there is mention of the "great historians" Da Napati and Da Surawan, as given by Schlegel, who led the embassies of 456 and 466 A.D. respectively.

Gerini (46, p. 541) gives an embassy from Po-hoang in the period 420-3 A.D. at the same time as that of Po-ta and he says that he derives these from the article by Parker in the *China Review*, vol. XIII, p. 337.

None of these notices give any indication whatsoever as to the geographical situation of Po-hoang.

After the fifth century A.D. the names of Ho-lo-tan, Po-hoang and Po-ta disappear save for an incidental reference to Ho-lo-tan in the *Sui Shu* to which we shall refer later.

Summarizing the historical facts we have then :—

- (1) evidence of the kingdom of Cho-po in 424, 430, 433 and 435 A.D. ;
- (2) evidence of the kingdom of Po-ta in 420-3, 435, 449 and 451 A.D. ;

- (3) evidence of the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan in 430, 433, 436, 449 and 452 A.D. ;
- (4) evidence of the kingdom of Po-hoang in 420-3, 449, 451, 456, 459, 463 and 466 A.D.

All we know geographically about these states is that Ho-lo-tan was on the island of Cho-po and that Cho-po must have been north of the equator. Whether Ho-lo-tan ruled over Cho-po or not, it seems clear that the latter was the name of an island and also a kingdom. This is proved by the fact that in 433 A.D. the king of Cho-po has a quite different name from that of the king of Ho-lo-tan in the same year.

Cho-po. Apart from the general acceptations of the fact, the identity of Gunavarman's Cho-po with Fa-hien's Ye-po-ti would seem to be a permissible deduction. Each of them sailed to a place in the south seas from which it was possible to sail direct to Canton, Fa-hien leaving it in 414 A.D. and Gunavarman in 424 A.D. One name correlates with the sound *Yava* and the other with the sound *Java*. When Fa-hien was in Ye-po-ti it was not a Buddhist country but he converted it. The reasoning is, of course, weak but the deduction is a possible one.

Where was Cho-po? Chinese geographers very many centuries later identified it with the present island of Java and with the Cho-po of the Sung dynasty. It has, however, been pointed out so often by Pelliot, Gerini, Schlegel and others that such identifications are quite worthless as evidence that it is unnecessary to say more than that.

Ferrand in 1919 wrote most strangely concerning Ye-po-ti that "in the absence of any indication as to the route followed, we must presume that the voyage was made direct from Ceylon to the Strait of Sunda. Ten years later, Gunavarman took the same route" (144, XIV, p. 50). At that time Ferrand accepted the view that Ye-po-ti was Java. In 1922, of course, he changed his view and took it to be Sumatra but we cite the passage as illustrative of the strange way in which facts are so often ignored by the leading authorities upon the ancient geography of Malaysia. There is every indication of Fa-hien's route to Ye-po-ti and absolutely none of Gunavarman's to Cho-po; yet Ferrand wrote of the latter as though it were certain and said of the former that there was no indication. Even in 1922 when Ferrand was identifying Ye-po-ti as Sumatra he wrote the strange statement that "from Ceylon to Canton the usual route passes by Che-li-fo-che, that is to say the Strait of Sunda and Palembang. Tch'eu K'iu-fei shows that clearly in the twelfth century and there is no reason to think that such was not the route of the sailors of the fifth

century. Yavadvipa then indicates Sumatra and not Java" (140, p. 155). Tcheou K'iu-fei¹ whom he quotes a few pages later (p. 160) does not support him in the least and the whole passage is wild since the route *via* Che-li-fo-che was quite clearly through the Strait of Malacca and not the Sunda Strait as we shall see when we reach I Tsing. Moreover, Tcheou K'iu-fei or Chou K'u-fei, wrote in 1178 A.D. and nothing can be more clear than that at that time the China-India sea-route was, as always, *via* the Straits of Malacca.

Ferrand in this same essay (pp. 167-7) cites the astronomer Aryabhata, who was born in 476 A.D., where he says in his *Aryabhatiyam* (VI, verse 13) "when the sun rises in Ceylon it sets in the town of the Happy (in the Fortunate Islands 180° longitude west of Ceylon); it is midday at the point of Yava (Yavakoti) and midnight in the country of the Romans." He is translating from Kern who identified Yavakoti with Yava = Java but Ferrand says that it could as well be Sumatra. He then cites Kern who translated another passage about Yavakoti from the *Surya-Siddhanta* where it is said that the ramparts and gates of Yavakoti were made of gold. And he says that "Kern adds in his commentary that "these ramparts and gates of gold seem to be an embellishment borrowed from the Ramayana" and concluded that we lack indications to decide whether it is Java or Sumatra". Ferrand thought that it was the latter.

Chatterjee has translated the passage from the *Surya-Siddhanta*, which he says is an astronomical work which can be dated back to the fifth century A.D. though in its present form it dates from the eleventh, thus:—"At quarter of the circumference of the earth, eastwards in the land of Bhadrashva (the Eastern Division of the earth) is the famous *nagari* Yavakoti with golden walls and gates" (192, p. 25). Moens refers to the *Surya-Siddhanta* as being of the fourth century A.D. (241, p. 56). He puts forward the very interesting view that the name of Funan from olden times was Yava and that Yavakoti is a much older name for the later Yamakota, standing for Yamanagara or Ligor (*ibid*: p. 56). His reasoning, however, is open to much criticism. Kern, according to Moens, thought that Yavakoti lay at the east end of Java or in Koetei.

Ferrand also located Cho-po in Sumatra (252, p. 1182).

Majumdar considers Cho-po to have been Java but admits that the correctness of that identification cannot be regarded as absolutely certain (181, p. 102).

Gerini (46, p. 516) thought that She-p'o, as he wrote the name, "is now conclusively proved to be part of the Malay Peninsula below the Krah Isthmus, which formed its northernmost limit."

¹Author of the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*.

Po-hoang, Po-ta and Ho-lo-tan he takes to be respectively Pahang (46, p. 500 n. 1.), a place on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula abreast of Chumphon (*ibid* : p. 541), and the Krut district on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam or Gurot in the Ghirbi district on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula or "possibly, though it seems very unlikely" Kelantan (*ibid* : p. 469, n. 3). But he thought that Ya-po-ti, as he wrote it, was Sumatra since he took that place to be Ptolemy's Iabadiou. Gerini, therefore, thought that Cho-po and Ye-po-ti were not the same places.

Schlegel identified Cho-po with the Malay Peninsula upon etymological reasoning which Pelliot is considered to have exploded. Schlegel made a most definite identification of Ho-lo-tan (which he wrote as Ka-la-tan) as Kelantan but his reasoning is not logical and is based upon the resemblance or fancied resemblance between the names. Moreover, as Pelliot notes, there are two villages in Borneo called Kalatan : so why not choose them ?

Schlegel's reasoning with regard to Po-hoang is even weaker. He identifies it with Pahang and says that after the fifth century A.D. the next reference to it is in 1377 A.D. when, however, it is known to the Chinese as Panggang, as he writes it¹. Pelliot (129, p. 272) observes that this identification is uncertain which seems an understatement.

Linehan (220, p. 2) says that Pahang is the Khmer word for "tin" ; he makes no reference to the fifth century Po-hoang which evidently he does not consider to have been Pahang.

Majumdar, unfortunately, has accepted Schlegel's identification of Po-hoang (181, p. 77) though not his identification of Ho-lo-tan or Cho-po. Majumdar thinks that Ho-lo-tan represents the kingdom in western Java ruled over by Purnavarman (*ibid* : p. 112) and that Cho-po is Java.

Before going any further let us consider the etymological side of the questions which we have been considering.

No argument can arise as to Yava-dvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou or Ye-po-ti. The first is sanskrit and the last three are transcriptions of the prakrit *Yavadvīp* or *Yavadvī*. All four lead, therefore, to the sound *Yava*.

Pelliot's view is that Cho-po, Tchou-po and Tou-po all represent the sound *Djava*, *i.e.* Java ; but Schlegel considered Cho-po to represent *Djava* or *Djapa*, meaning the China rose or hibiscus. Pelliot has a long discussion of the matter in which he disagrees with Schlegel and concludes that Cho-po is a transcription of a

¹Ferrand (144, XIII, pp. 283-4) gives transcriptions for Pahang as P'eng-teng, P'eng-k'ang, P'eng-heng.

place-name which had the sound *Java* (129, pp. 287-9) and Pelliot's view is generally accepted. Pelliot, however, admitted that if Tchou-po and Tou-po were the same, "their common identification with Java is embarrassed by the ancient pronunciation of *po* with a guttural final" (129, p. 278) and Moens observes that "instead of seeing in "Java" the original name it is evident that one should recognize the name Toubouc or Tabouk, the old name of Kota Baru the most powerful city of the later Moros of Mindanao which city would answer to all given data and would be geographically correct" (241, pp. 33-4).

If Pelliot's views are accepted, then the three toponyms Cho-po, Tchou-po and Tou-po give us the sound *Java*; but the matter can hardly be said to be certain. So far as we know, nobody has considered the sound *Saba* in relation to them.

From this etymology some curious facts obtrude themselves. We have Ptolemy in the second century A.D. giving a greek transcription of the prakrit name *Yavadiu*, we have the Chinese notice of the embassy of 132 A.D. from Ye-tiao using a chinese transcription of the same prakrit name and we have Fa-hien at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. using another chinese transcription of the same prakrit name. This would seem to show that from the second to the fifth century A.D. the prakrit place-name *Yavadiu* was in use; and one wonders how this fact fits in with the dates which palaeographers have assigned to the earliest sanskrit inscriptions of Greater India.

It is again curious that if Tou-po, Tchou-po and Cho-po represent the sound *Java* and, if they refer to the same place as Yavadvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou and Ye-po-ti, we should get two different sounds for the same place. Why should the second century *Yava* in Ye-tiao and Iabadiou become the third century *Java* in Tchou-po and Tou-po? Why should Fa-hien give the equivalent of the former, and the *Sung Shu* and Gunavarman's story that of the latter?

Is it possible that the bad pronunciation of sanskrit in Malaysia (40, p. 39) also applied to prakrit and that *Java* was the local coarse way of pronouncing *Yava*? and that the Chinese seamen took back to China the former whereas the scholarly Fa-hien, who had been so long in India, used the latter?

Pelliot's discussion of the name *Java* should be carefully studied (129, pp. 265-9).

The conclusion would seem to be that on the phonetic evidence we are not necessarily driven to hold that Yavadvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou, Tou-po, Tchou-po, Ye-po-ti and Cho-po are one and the same place.

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Let us now consider the identifications proposed by Moens and his reasoning.

In the first place he emphasizes (241, p. 21) the fact which we have already mentioned in this essay that the name Java did not always apply to the same place throughout the centuries before it finally crystallized upon the present island of that name. That fact seems to be generally admitted at this date and it destroys the main line of Pelliot's reasoning in 1904 which was based upon the constancy of the name.

Moens summarizes his views in the following paragraph :—

“ Though Fa-hien's reports prove to us that Ye-po-ti represents Malaya, there is no proof that he travelled *via* Java. We deduce that the 5th century Kelantan was in Cho-p'o, the 6th century Tch'e-t'ou in the vicinity of Patalung and it is probable that the 5th century Yava-dvipa of Fa-hien represents the 5th century Cho-p'o (Malaya). Gunavarman the Buddhist Kashmirian monk who stayed in Cho-p'o until 424 A.D. from where he went to China *via* Champa likewise travelled from Ceylon *via* Malaya. This appears to have been the centuries old normal route to China when the Straits of Malacca were not in use, and the journey was *via* Kra, Trang, Kedah overland from Malaya's west coast. Fa-hien travelled *via* Ligor, and Gunavarman *via* Kedah ; the first mentioned met few compatriots (hinayanists) and many renegade Brahmins. The second journeyed *via* a purely Buddhist city. We may assume the identity of Yavadvipa = Ye-po-ti = Malaya and bear in mind Ptolemy's report of 132 A.D. that the route in the 2nd century passed through Malaya and that this “ island ” was called Iabadiou, a faithful Greek transcription of the name Yavadvipa ” (230, pp. 48-9).

Moens' identification of Cho-po as the Malay Peninsula is based upon his identification of Ho-lo-tan, or Ko-lo-tan as he writes it, as Kelantan (*ibid* : p. 22). In examining the reasons for this latter identification (*ibid* : pp. 18-19) there would seem to be a slip either in the translation or the original. As translated Moens says that “ Pelliot believes that Ko-lo-tan, on the island of Cho-p'o, is identical with Kelantan ” (p. 18) but in a footnote he says that Pelliot believed this identification to be problematical, and that is correct (129, p. 272). Actually Pelliot rejected it because he went on to show the unsoundness of the reasoning upon which the view had been suggested by Schlegel who was the propounder of it.

Moens points out that the native name for Kelantan is Kalatan (p. 17) and Mr. Anker Rentse in a letter to the writer says that “ the ordinary raiyat of Kelantan always refers to his country as *Kelatan*. But considering the local dialect, which tends to cut

words short in the pronunciation, this fact may be used in an argument against the spelling of *Kelatan*. However, we have another proof in favour of *Kelatan* (see J.R.A.S.M.B., vol. XII, Pt. 2, 1934, p. 55), the Kelantan Gold Coin (see also illustrations, Plate XVIII, Fig. 1 and 2, J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XIV, Pt. 3, 1936). The inscription in Jawi shows clearly (كلتن) (K. l. t. n. = Kelatan). These gold coins are more than 200 years old ”.

The first certain references of the Chinese to Kelantan, however, show it clearly as *Kilantan* and not *Kelatan* (226, p. 62, 65). Moreover, the variant Ko-lo-tan for Ho-lo-tan is unusual and the latter was undoubtedly the true name of the state, not the former.

The phonetic identification is, therefore, problematical and the geographic identification upon which Moens also bases himself depends upon the reference to Ho-lo-tan which occurs in the *Sui Shu* and which we shall consider later.

The passage which we have set out above in which Moens summarizes his views is open to the answers that there is no proof at all in Fa-hien's reports that Ye-po-ti represented Malaya ; that there is no evidence at all that Fa-hien passed through Ligor ; that there is no evidence at all as to Gunavarman's route (except that he went direct to Canton) or that he travelled *via* Malaya ; that Ptolemy most clearly gives a route down the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, round the bottom of it and up the east coast ; that Iabadiou is a faithful greek transcription not of the sanskrit *Yavadvipa* but of the prakrit *Yavadiu* ; and that Ptolemy's Iabadiou being quite a different place from his Golden Chersonese could not possibly have been the Malay Peninsula and Moens himself admits that the latter was the Peninsula (p. 47).

Summary.

Returning again to the seven toponyms which we have been considering we can summarize the dominant facts as follows :

(1) the Yava-dvipa of the *Ramayana* was famous for gold and silver and contained gold mines ; beyond it was a mountain named Çiçira, the abode of gods and devils, the summit of which touched the sky ; and in Yava-dvipa were seven kingdoms ;

(2) the Iabadiou of Ptolemy was famous for its fertility and its gold ; it was well to the east of the Malay Peninsula ; its capital Argyre was situated at its western extremity which was considerably to the south of its eastern extremity ;

(3) Ye-tiao is nothing but a name ;

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(4) Tchou-po was on a great island east of Funan (Cambodia and Cochin-China) in the South China Sea ;

(5) Tou-po was an island east of Funan (Cambodia and Cochin-China) in the South China Sea ; it was famous for iron, silver and gold ; and it contained more than ten kingdoms ;

(6) Ye-po-ti was a place from which it was possible to sail direct to Canton upon the SW monsoon ;

(7) Cho-po was an island containing at least two kingdoms, one of which was called Ho-lo-tan, and from Cho-po ships could sail direct to Canton ; Ho-lo-tan very possibly was a diamond-producing country.

Conclusions.

We suggest that the following are proper deductions to be made from the evidence concerning the seven toponyms which we have been considering :—

(a) the Yava-dvipa of the *Ramayana* and the Iabadiou of Ptolemy were probably the same ;

(b) the Iabadiou of Ptolemy and the Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien were very probably the same ;

(c) if the Iabadiou of Ptolemy and the Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien were the same, they could not have been Java, Sumatra or the Malay Peninsula but were most probably Borneo ;

(d) Tou-po could not have been Java or Sumatra ;

(e) Tchou-po could not have been Java or Sumatra ;

(f) Tou-po and Tchou-po were probably the same place ;

(g) Tou-po and Tchou-po were probably the same as the fifth century Cho-po ;

(h) the fifth century Cho-po was probably the same as the Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien.

From these eight deductions it results that these seven toponyms probably referred to one and the same place. It seems certain upon the facts which we have set out and discussed that, if the seven toponyms do represent the same place, then it could not have been Sumatra or Java or the Malay Peninsula but must in all probability have been Borneo.

It is a most strange fact that while writers so far have readily accepted a very early intercourse between China and Java, none of them seems to have suggested such a thing in respect of Borneo although communication between that island and Cochin-China

and between that island and the southern entrance to the Straits of Malacca was feasible upon either the NE or the SW monsoon, and although the action of the winds must have made a knowledge of Borneo inescapable as soon as ships sailed direct down the South China Sea. The last fact is obvious but, if evidence is necessary, the writer would cite the instance of a junk which sailed in 1937 from Hainan for Singapore but which after thirty days at the mercy of the wind landed at Kuching, Sarawak.

Mr. Banks in a letter to the writer says that "Tatau is still the only place I know visited yearly by Wangkang¹ direct from China for the purpose of loading ironwood".

Finlayson writes of the junks which visited Singapore from China in 1821 that "they had neither chart nor book of any description on board, nor any written document to point out their route. They had no means even of ascertaining the ship's way, neither did it appear that they kept an account of transactions on board. They had a rude compass, set in a wooden frame, and divided into twenty-four points, which they did not appear to put great dependence on, and this was probably the only nautical instrument on board. Their mode of proceeding is to set out with the favourable monsoon. After reaching a certain point without losing sight of land, they stand across the China Sea, calculating that they will, as they generally do, reach the opposite side in ten or twelve days. They make but one voyage across the China Sea in a year; on their return, they sometimes make a short coasting voyage in addition, after which the junk is hauled up, covered with straw, and laid side till the following season" (256, pp. 69-70).

The best description known to us of Chinese junks, their crews and navigation is that by Gutzlaff which appears in Bowring (267, i, pp. 246-252). He says there that "the navigation of junks is performed without the aid of charts, or any other help except the compass: it is mere coasting, and the whole art of the pilot consists in directing the course according to the promontories in sight". He is, of course, speaking of the Chinese junks which arrived in Siam every year in February, March and the beginning of April from Hainan, Canton and elsewhere, and which sailed home in the last of May, in June and July.

It is noticeable that in the account of the south seas which came from the third century embassy of K'ang Tai and Chu Ying to Funan we are told of the kingdom of Tchoupo which is on the great island in the Great Sea. Now, we know that from the coast of Cochin-China to Borneo navigation is possible on either monsoon. It was, therefore, inevitable that the Chinese ambassadors in

¹i.e. Chinese ocean-going junk.

Funan should have been told of Borneo. But why should they have been told of Java? Remembering what we have already written about this embassy and the information which it obtained, the reader will agree that, if Borneo is accepted, its information was natural. It learnt about Funan, about the Malay Peninsula and Borneo and certain islands beyond Borneo to the east. That would be natural and what one would expect: but why should the remote Java have been introduced, a long way south of the equator, difficult of access and served by winds normally unfamiliar to the sailors of Funan?

Moens takes the Ma-wu islands to be the Clove Islands and the Volcano Island to be Ternate, while he takes Pi-k'ien to be south Malaya. We certainly prefer his Clove Islands to our own Philippines and the Volcano Island might well have been Ternate but Pi-k'ien does not seem to fit in. Moens also says that Tunsun was the southern part of the peninsula. We suggested that it was the Malay Peninsula and that Pi-k'ien was Sumatra. The evidence is all set out in the last part of this essay and can be judged by the reader.

When did Borneo first become known to the Indians? It is, of course, not possible to say for certain but once their ships began to sail the South China Sea they must soon have discovered Borneo. The action of the winds forces one to that conclusion. It seems certain that the Indians preceded the Chinese in a knowledge of the South China Sea and that Indians had the carrying trade in their hands long before Chinese competition became serious.

Once the western coasts of Borneo became familiar their fertility and great mineral wealth must have attracted the Indians. If one takes the natural course of trade by means of sailing-vessels and remembers the winds and land-routes, one would pre-suppose very early Indian colonies on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula at the northern entrance to the Straits of Malacca and on the east coast opposite and on the western coast of Borneo. Once they settled on this last coast one would pre-suppose extensions round the south, across the Java Sea to Java and further east round the coast of Borneo on that side and across into Celebes. One would, accordingly, expect to find evidence of early settlements in all these places and, speaking very generally, that is what one does find. We have the very early inscriptions to which reference was made in the last part of this essay and to which we must add the new evidence recently published by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268). For further additional archaeological evidence the reader is referred to the excellent summary in Banks' essay (269) which contains a good bibliography. There is a further note by Banks in his Annual Report on the Sarawak Museum for 1938. Reference should also be made to Majumdar's cultural history of Suvarnavdipa (244). No traces of buildings or ancient cities have yet been found in Borneo but this may be explained, perhaps, as Mr. Banks

has suggested in a letter to the writer, by the fact that the buildings were made of wood so easy to come by in that heavily forested country. Low said that houses built of stone were never seen in Borneo (249, p. 153). Another explanation may be a lack of exploration by professional archaeologists.

The fact, however, is certain that there were very ancient Indian or Indianized kingdoms in Borneo in the east and south-west, and, that being so, it is inconceivable that the easiest coast to reach and the district which was full of gold and diamonds as well as other minerals and which by reason of its rivers and its fertility was most suitable for settlement, were not settled prior to the establishment of colonies in the east and south-west. We suggest that among the earliest places in Malaysia settled by the ancient Indians must have been the region between Kuching and Pontianak and the regions watered by the Kapuas and Sambas. Mr. Banks in a recent essay in this Journal (270, p. 51) has written that "there seems to be little doubt there descended on the Land Dayaks of Western Sarawak an early sixth or seventh century Pallava invasion from Madras, doubtless *via* Java. Traces of these people have been found near Banjarmasin in Dutch Borneo and on Bukit Berhala on the Samarahan river in Western Sarawak, these last comprising a large, square block of sandstone (Yoni) with a socket in the middle for the upright stone pillar (lingam) as an object of worship, an elephant-headed God known as Ganesa and a stone bull (Nandi) in a crouching position, guardian to the sacred shrine to Siva". In a letter to the writer Mr. Banks says that "the cliffs at Tanjong Po are made of coarse sandstone in which are enclosed many round pebbles, the only place I know where the formation exactly resembles the stone from which was carved the Yoni from Bukit Berhala and as you will see the sites are not far apart".

Banks (270, p. 52) also writes that "Land Dayak traditions of early days, their ancestral names such as Pati and Radin, the names of their deities such as Petara, the reluctance of many to eat Deer meat and particularly the form of dancing by the men all seem to indicate a Javan and ultimately Hindu influence manifested in ways not acquired in the course of Land Dayak travels, for they claim with some reason to be the original inhabitants of this part of the world. The presence of old Pallava remains and the many almost Indian customs still assimilated by the Land Dayaks suggest the original Kalamantan people have been modified by a religious and cultural Hindu invasion."

A study of place-names in Borneo shows many Indian names but it is, of course, impossible to say when they were introduced. In the north there are many names beginning with *kin* or *kina*. The sanskrit for China is *Kina* (227, p. 136, n. 3) and it is a curious fact that in Brunei *kina* is the way of pronouncing *china* (251, 20, p. 69). The name of the great mountain of Borneo,

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Kinabalu, is generally taken to mean "Chinese Widow." Low (249, pp.6-7) says "I have been informed by the Rajahs of Borneo that it derives its name from the circumstance of its summit having been in former times the residence of a female spirit of great beauty, of whom it is said a Chinese prince of Bruni (before the time of its conversion to the religion of Mahomet), became enamoured, and, wishing to obtain her in marriage, made a journey intending to visit her residence, but, losing his footing, fell over one of the rocky precipices near the top, and was killed. Hence the spirit has been denominated the Widow of the Chinaman, and the mountain, after her, named Kina or China Balou, the Borneans not pronouncing the *ch* soft, as is the practice amongst Malayan nations". Hose, however, suggests that the name represents *Kina Bahru* or New China (257, p. 193).

Summarizing, we suggest that both *a priori* reasoning and such data as we possess lead us to a very early knowledge of Borneo on the part of the Indians and Chinese and that in the case of both probably, but the latter certainly, they must have been familiar with Borneo before they became familiar with Java the navigation to which island was far more difficult and more dangerous.

Bertrand Russell has said that it is a healthy idea, now and then, to hang a question mark on the things one has long taken for granted; and therein is a good excuse, if there is no other, for the attempt which we have made to re-examine the evidence concerning *Yava* and *Java*.

(*To be continued*).

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KULANGGI OR GULANGGI

By ROLAND BRADDELL.

In the last number of this Journal a note by Sir Richard Winstedt was published under the above title. In it he wrote that "in Journal XV Part III (Dec. 1937) however Mr. Roland Braddell elects to correct the Malay spelling, identifies the word with Kalinga and the place with Burma, as "it was a Kalinga or Telinga country". There is, however, no need to correct the Malay spelling or to apply such an extraordinary geographical description to Burma".

In the first place the present writer did not elect to correct the Malay spelling. At p. 96 of the part of his essay to which Sir Richard Winstedt refers he set out romanized versions of the Malay as given respectively by Col. Low, Mr. R. N. Bland and Mr. A. J. Sturrock. Col. Low gave Galungi or Kalungi and, in a later passage cited at p. 98 of the essay, Kalangi; Mr. Bland gave Klanggi; and Mr. Sturrock Kelinggi. None of them gave Sir Richard Winstedt's Kulanggi or Gulanggi.

The present writer then pointed out that this country of Kalangi, etc. was Lower Burma, as is perfectly clear from the evidence of the Annals; see pp. 96 and 98 of the essay.

He then wrote at p. 97 that "Kalangi with its variants clearly represents Kalinga and its other forms and ancient Burma, as we have seen, was a Kalinga or Telinga country".

It never entered the writer's mind that anybody could take this as a geographical description or misunderstand the reference. Lower Burma was heavily populated by Indian immigrants whose name is preserved in that of Talaing. As Banerji writes in his *History of Orissa* "it is now acknowledged universally that the Talaing people of Burma, though of Mon origin, obtained their name from Tri-Kalinga"; see also Harvey's *History of Burma* and Halliday's *The Talaings*. Reference to the Talaings and Kalinga was made in the first part of the writer's essay, this Journal Vol. XIII Part II, p. 105.

The result is that we have in the Kedah Annals a country which the internal evidence shows clearly to have been Lower Burma; and we have the well-known fact that Lower Burma was a "Kalinga country" i.e. a country with very close Kalinga connections; and finally we have in the Annals a name which clearly approximates to Kalinga unless it is suggested that Col. Low, Mr. Bland and Mr. Sturrock were incapable of romanizing the Malay which they found in the copies of the Kedah Annals upon which they worked.

THE JOURNEY OF FA-HSIEN FROM CEYLON TO CANTON.

A. GRIMES, B.Sc.

Meteorological Officer, S.S. & F.M.S.

It is only during the past ten years that reliable information of the winds near the equator has become available and even now this information is not to be found in standard meteorological works. The demands of civil aviation have made necessary a close study of meteorological conditions in the neighbourhood of Malaya and it is now possible to draw wind charts of this area with more precision and confidence than hitherto.

At the suggestion of Mr. Roland Braddell, the present writer attempts to set out the track of Fa-hsien's journey from Ceylon to Canton in the light of this new information. A good deal of the data necessary for drawing the wind charts has been taken from "*The mean transport of air in the Indian and South Pacific Oceans*" by Rev. Charles E. Dipperman, S.J., of the Philippines Weather Bureau, and the actual streamlines of the air have been drawn on the basis of the daily synoptic charts prepared in the Meteorological Office, Singapore.

The details of Fa-hsien's journey have been taken from "the Travels of Fa-hsien" by H. A. Giles.

Before considering these details it will be helpful to discuss the general problem of the best time of year to begin a journey from Ceylon to Java and a journey from Ceylon, *via* the Straits of Malacca, to some place at the southern end of the Straits.

The charts show the wind systems during

- | | | | |
|-----|------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| I | —IV | the SW monsoon | May—August. |
| V | —VI | the inter-monsoon period | September—October. |
| VII | —X | the NE monsoon | November—February |
| XI | —XII | the inter-monsoon period | March—April. |

It seems obvious from these charts that anyone with a knowledge of the winds would only begin a voyage from Ceylon to Java during the NE monsoon and would set out on a course towards the south or south-east in order to take fullest advantage of the winds. Anyone, however, who wished to sail from Ceylon to the northern end of the Malacca Straits and then down the Straits could not do better than wait for the end of the SW monsoon. He would then use the westerlies to reach the northern end of the Straits by which time the northwesterlies would have set in to take him down the Straits. This would mean starting in the beginning of September which Fa-hsien did.

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The main facts of the voyage are as follows :—

- (i) the ship set sail eastwards on a fair wind ;
- (ii) after sailing for two days they encountered a Bay of Bengal Cyclone and were in it for thirteen days ;
- (iii) soon after, they arrived at a small island, stopped the leak in the ship and forthwith proceeded on their correct course ;
- (iv) they sailed for about 90 days until they arrived at Ye-po-ti which was evidently where they expected to arrive ;
- (v) they stayed at Ye-po-ti for five months and then set sail on the 16th day of the fourth moon for Canton ;
- (vi) they shaped a course NE for Canton and after 30-35 days encountered another storm ;
- (vii) after a total of 70 days they changed course to NW and with 12 days continuous sailing arrived at the southern coast of Lau-shan.

We can draw up the following table :—

Beginning of September	— Left Ceylon and 2 days later encountered the storm ;
Middle of December	— arrived at Ye-po-ti ;
Middle of May	— left Ye-po-ti ;
Middle of June	— encountered storm ;
Middle of July	— changed course to NW. ;
End of July	— arrived at Lau-shan.

On an average two cyclones occur each September in the Bay of Bengal. These storms form, usually, north of latitude 12° N. so that since Fa-hsien set sail from Ceylon he would have met the cyclone on the southern side of the centre where the winds are between southerly and westerly. He implies that they sailed before the wind when they were unable to see, because of darkness and cloud, so that the effect of the storm would be to take the ship off its course in a general north-east direction.

The distance the ship would have travelled during the 13 days of storm can only be conjectured but it is extremely likely that the strong S—SW winds would have carried it to some island of the Andaman group—a distance of some six to seven hundred miles

The southerly component of the wind would make it fairly certain that it could not have been the Nicobar group (except 1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

perhaps the extreme north) and makes it quite impossible for the ship to have been carried south of the equator.

The ship would then make slow progress and it is likely, that having been carried so far north, they missed the short season of north-westerlies and were brought down the Straits of Malacca eventually on the NE monsoon winds in November and December.

Where they eventually landed is not quite so definite ; but from the statement that " a north-east course was set in order to reach Canton " it is evident that the position of Ye-po-ti must be such that it would be possible to sail from it in a north-easterly direction and that the winds would be roughly south-west. Two places that suggest themselves are the East Coast of Malaya and the Northwest Coast of Borneo, since to have SW winds at the beginning of the monsoon the place must be north of the Equator. Since however they reached Ye-po-ti in the middle of December it seems more likely that they sailed in an easterly direction towards Borneo from the mouth of the Straits of Malacca rather than in a northerly direction against the wind up the East Coast. It is, of course, possible to sail in a north-easterly direction from the coast of Sumatra between Singapore and Banka, but in the middle of May, the winds there are between south-east and south, and it would be better then to sail due north and follow the wind in its turn across the Equator.

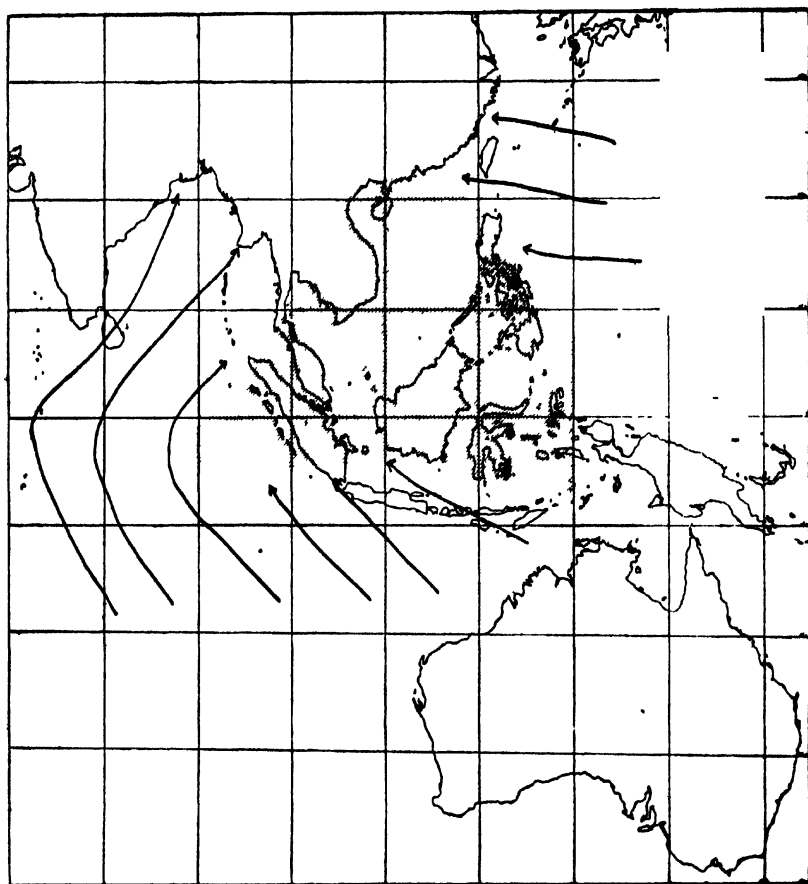
On the NW coast of Borneo the monsoon sets in as a wind from the south-west at the middle or end of May and this fits in very well with the facts.

Fa-hsien set sail for Canton in the middle of May and after more than a month met another storm. Since this storm was severe enough to make them lose their bearings it must have been a Typhoon and the most likely place to have met one on a voyage to Canton would be near a position 18° N, 116° E. The effect of the winds would be to draw them to the SW side of the typhoon and they would probably have passed somewhere between Formosa and Luzon and eventually reached a position near 30° N, 126° E. from where a NW course would take the ship to Lau Shan. It was probably the fact that they met the prevailing SE winds in this position that made them finally decide to sail to the northwest.

The track of the journey in the map at the end of H. A. Giles' book shows a straight course from Ceylon to Java but it is impossible that having met a cyclone and having drifted for 13 days, they should have found the island, where they stopped the leak, anywhere except to the north of the position at which they met the storm (*i.e.* 2 days sail eastward from Ceylon).

The positions in Giles' map through the South China Sea to Canton seem to be far too close to the Indo-China coast and it is extremely unlikely that they would meet a Typhoon on that track except when they were only a few days from Canton since for the last thirty years the westerly limit of Typhoons in June is roughly the line joining Canton to Manila.

Chart XIII shows the voyage as given by Giles and by the present writer.

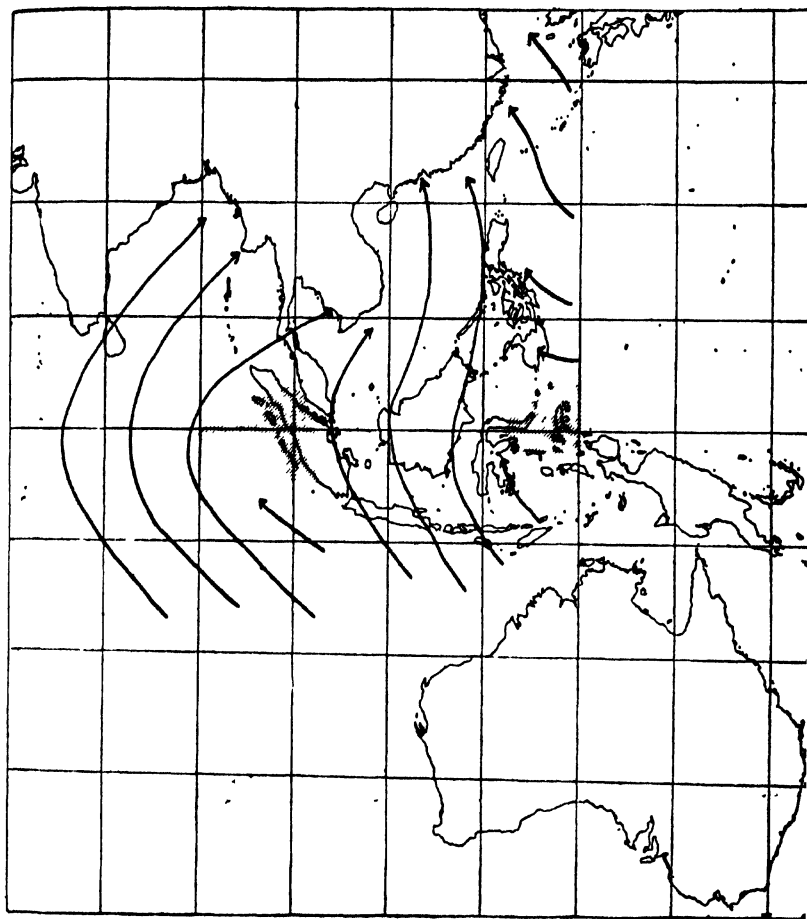


I. SW MONSOON—MAY.

The change from "May" conditions to "June" conditions
takes place between the middle and end of May

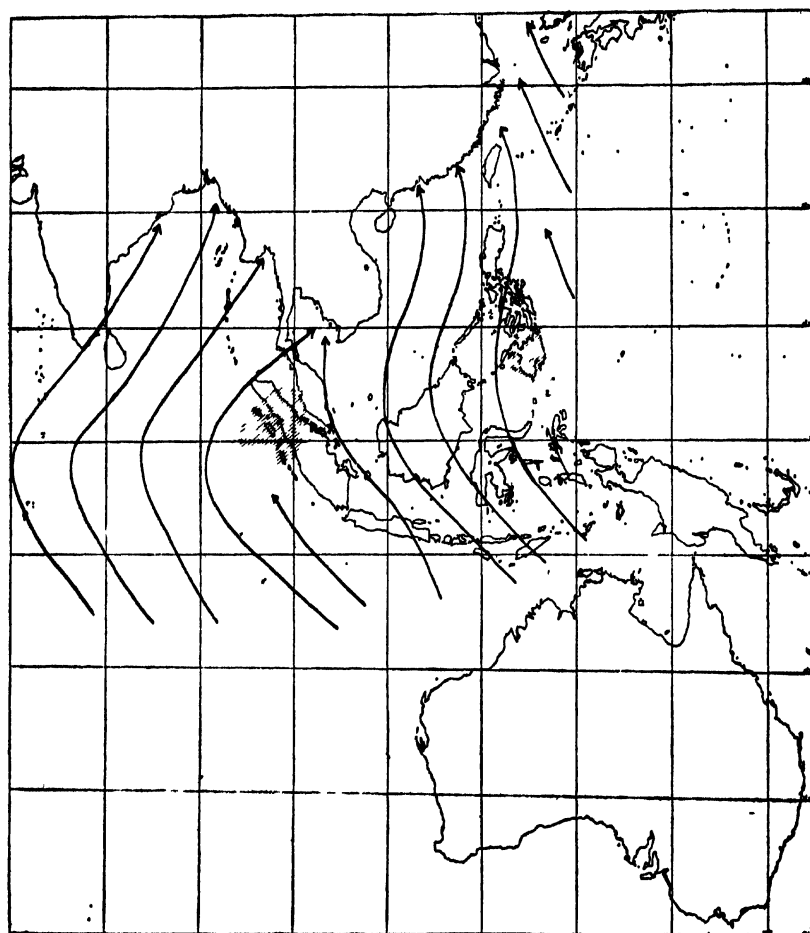
The areas marked in red are those in which winds are light and variable.

Journey of Fa-Hsien from Ceylon to Canton



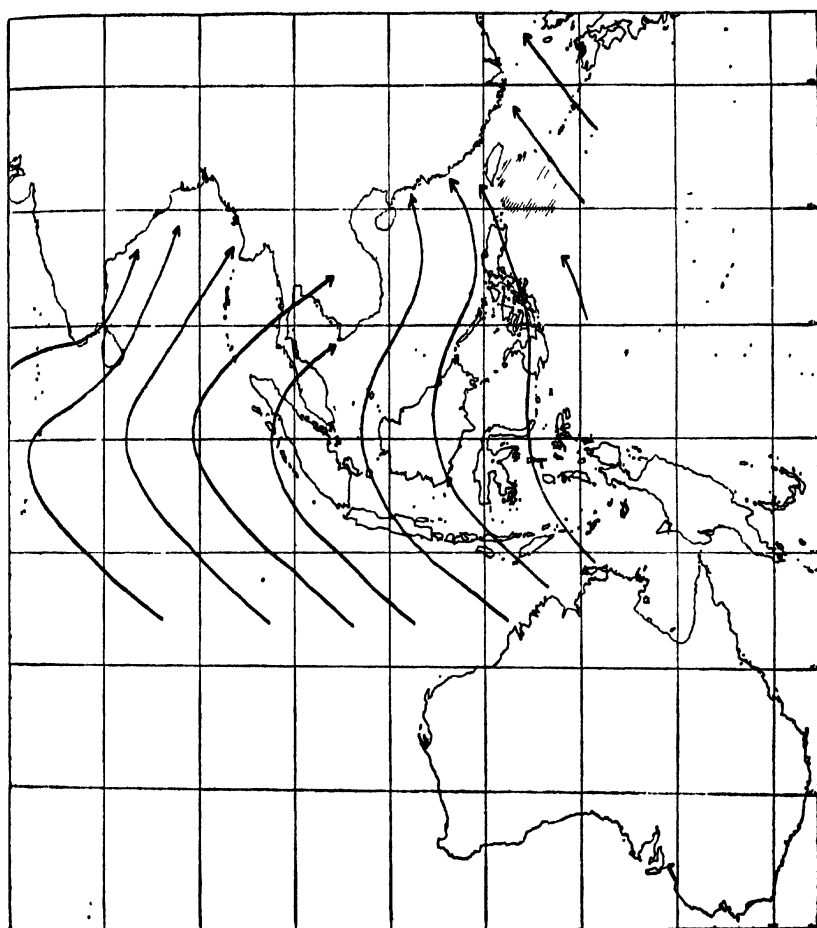
II. SW MONSOON—JUNE.

The areas marked in red are those in which winds are light and variable.



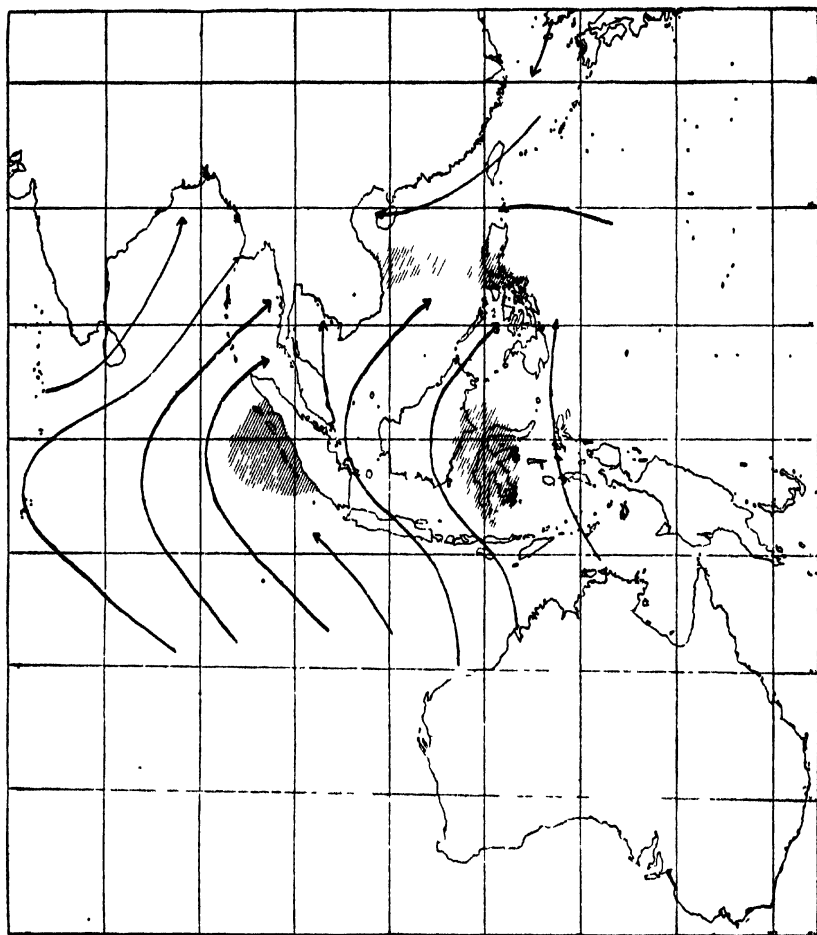
III. SW MONSOON—JULY.

The areas marked in red are those in which winds are light and variable.



IV. SW MONSOON—AUGUST.

The areas marked in red are those in which winds are light and variable.



V. INTER-MONSOON PERIOD—SEPTEMBER.

The areas marked in red are those in which winds are light and variable.

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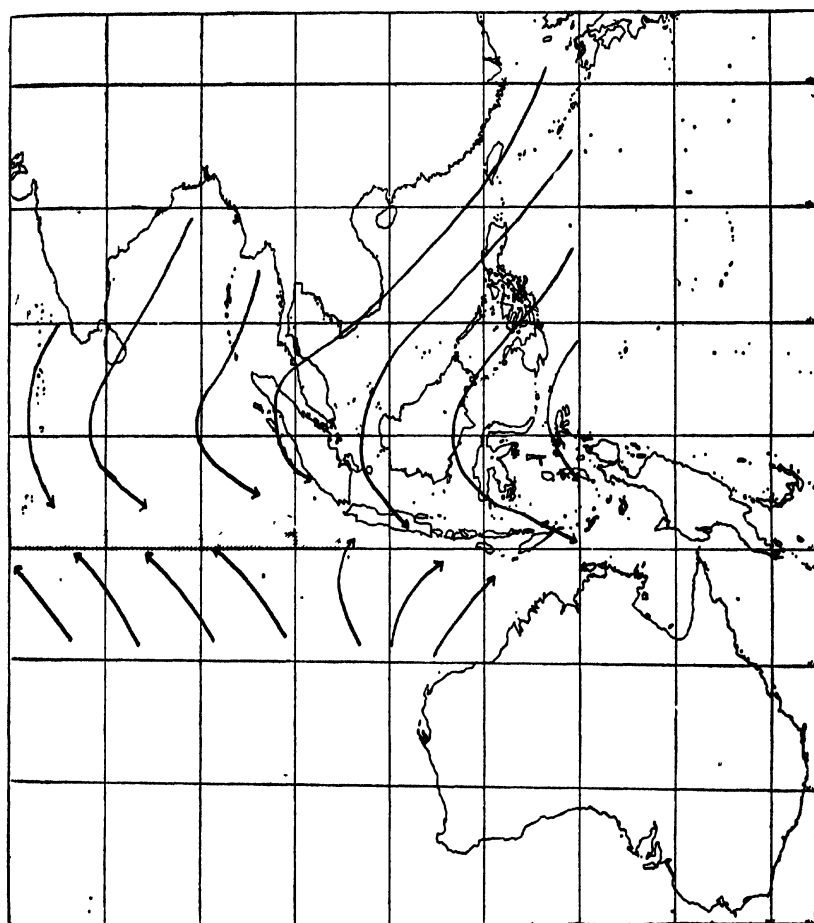
Part II.

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of the
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October, 1941.

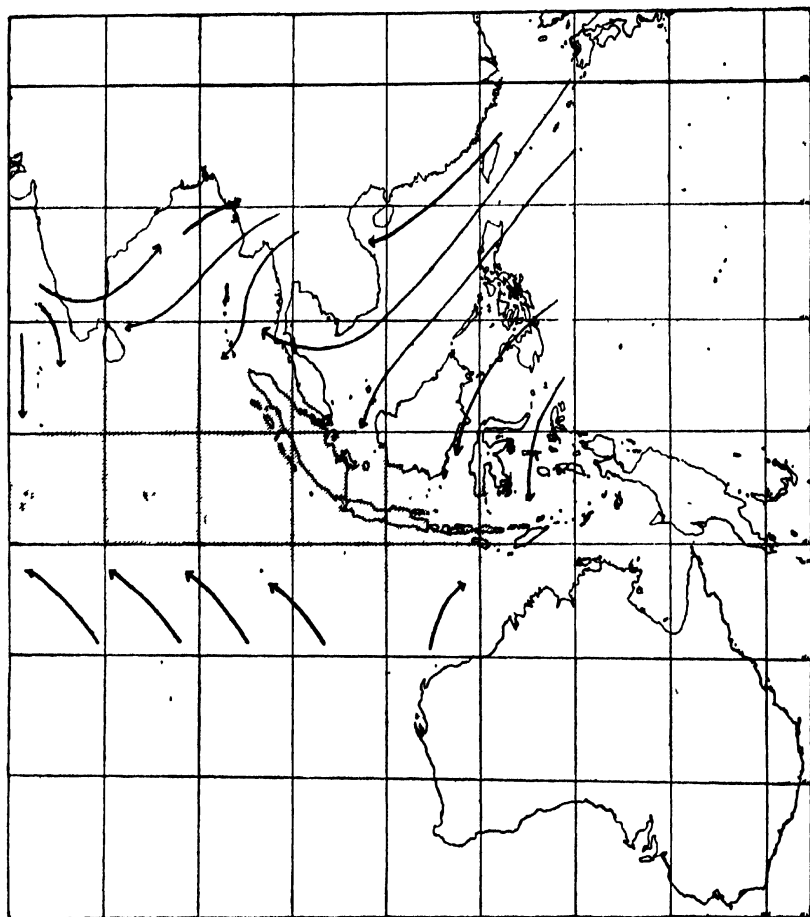
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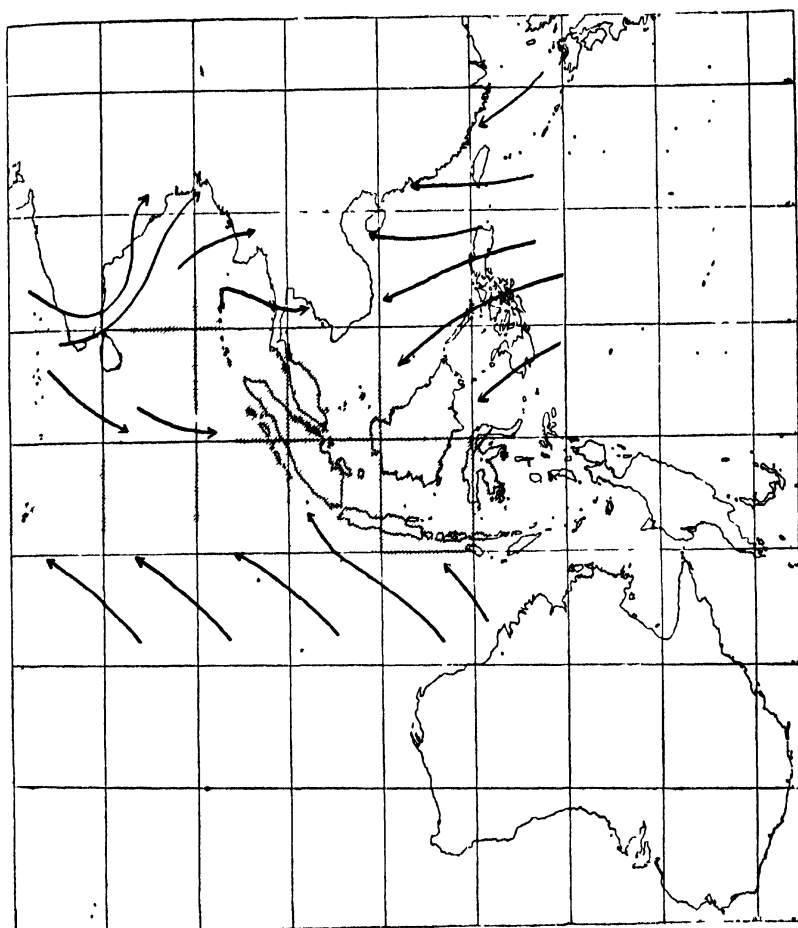
X. NE MONSOON—FEBRUARY.

The areas marked in red are those in which winds are light and variable.



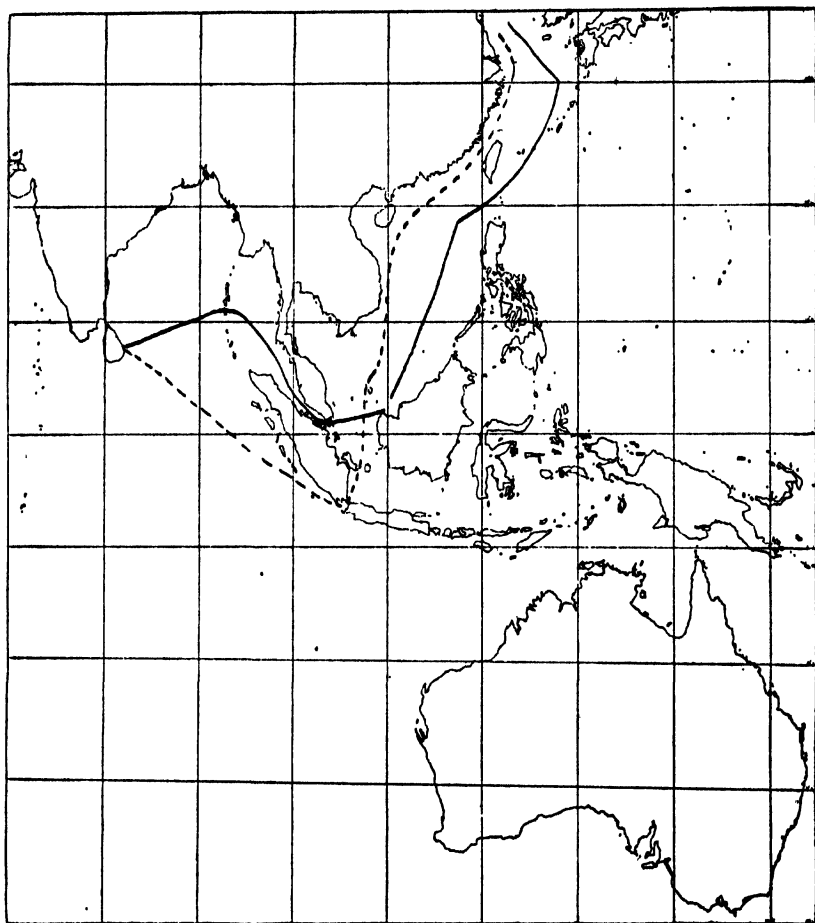
XI. INTER-MONSOON PERIOD—MARCH.

The areas marked in red are those in which winds are light and variable.



XII. INTER-MONSOON PERIOD—APRIL.

The areas marked in red are those in which winds are light and variable.



XIII. VOYAGE OF FA-HSIEN.

----- Giles
—— Grimes

SLAB-GRAVES AND IRON IMPLEMENTS

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D. LITT. (Oxon.)

Mr. R. J. Wilkinson's paper on the Bernam (Perak) slab-graves is the last of a series of papers in English and Dutch on these graves in Perak, Sumatra and Java. A summary of the *data* may indicate for Indian prehistorians and researchers in Siam, Burma, Indo-China and Yunnan some of those *lacunae* which enquiry into this megalithic civilisation has to fill.

In the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museum* (Vol. XII, Pt. 5, 1928) Mr. I. H. N. Evans described 3 slab-graves at Sungai Kruit (Sungkai), 1 at Changkat Mantri on the Bernam River and (*ib.* XV, Pt. 2, 1931) a fifth at Sungai Klah (Sungkai) :—

- (a) No skeletal remains were found.
- (b) Fragments of rough pottery were in and round all the graves.
- (c) Iron tools of a socketted type (*ib.* Vol. XV, Pt. 2, 1931) were found outside 3 of the graves and inside 2.
- (d) The Changkat Mantri grave was unique among these five Perak graves as containing three articles not recorded from the Sungkai graves *viz.* a cross-hatched stone 'bark-pounder' (*the only stone implement from any of the Perak graves*), a small bronze bowl and three small cornelian beads.
- (e) One grave ran S.E. to N.W. with the head pointing S.E. ; another S.S.W. to N.N.E. with the head N.N.E. ; another E.S.E. to W.N.W. with the head E.S.E. ; another E. to W. with the head pointing E. The direction of the Changkat Mantri grave is not recorded. Two of the graves were on the top of small hills ; two adjacent to one another on a hill-side.
- (f) For all these Perak graves, the granite slabs had been brought from a distance and at Changkat Mantri for a long distance, presumably by river.

In the *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum* (Series B, Vol. I, No. 2, Dec. 1937) Mr. H. D. Collings described 3 slab-graves at Slim in Perak, which contained

- (a) no skeletal remains
- (b) fragments of pottery
- (c) hundreds of beads, red matt, purple and a few bright blue and yellow-brown ; one large cornelian and one large crystal bead.

Outside one grave was a piece of rusted iron, possibly the shank of an axe. The first grave lay S. to N. of the others, he does not note the orientation.

He further described 1 grave at Sungai Kruit (Sungkai) lying E. to W. (head to the E.) and containing

- (a) no skeletal remains,
- (b) potsherds,
- (c) 16 pale blue and 1 purple glass bead and 1 tiny red bead,
- (d) 1 socketed iron tool (? axe)

An iron-age site near Kerling, Selangor, may have been a slab-grave once and revealed potsherds, 2 iron spear-heads and 7 iron socketted tools.

Mr. H. C. Beck found that Mr. Collings' collection of beads as a whole so like the Kuala Selinsing and Johore beads that he would allocate all to the same period *i.e.* between 1 and 400 A.D.

In *Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra* by Dr. A. N. J. Th. a. Th. van der Hoop translated by W. Shirlaw (Zutphen, Netherland) are described and illustrated certain stone-cists (*i.e.* slab-graves) in that island :—

- I. (a) One at Tegoerwangi, " of stones in parts somewhat dressed ", several with geometrical engravings and several with traces of colour ; one of them apparently having the picture of a buffalo in red, black and ochre. This grave contained
 - (b) one gold pin like a drawing pin, and
 - (c) stone-red beads, 4 cylindrical and 28 flat ; a green transparent bead, one of yellowish-grey glassy material, 2 dark blue, 63 stone-red and ochre-yellow, some round, some cylindrical.
- II. Another slab-grave near the last and also lying E. to W. contained
 - (a) beads including 1372 tiny ochre, white and red,
 - (b) broken potsherds of coarse earthenware,
 - (c) 8 bronze fragments.

III. Another at Oedjan had a bronze fragment.

Altogether 9 slab-graves were found between Pagar 'Alam and Tanjong Sakti, most of them spoilt by villagers and not properly excavated or described. Obviously further scientific exploration of these Sumatran sites is needed.

Next for Java. In the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-land en Volkenkunde* (Deel LXXV. Afd. 1, 1935) of the Batavian Society Dr. van der Hoop again describes and illustrates slab-graves at Wanasari in the district of Gunong Kidul near Jokyakarta :—

- (A) One lay N.S. with most of the heads to the south and some to the north. For 35 bodies had been crushed into it, one on the other, from time to time. It contained
- (a) a small grind-stone
 - (b) small broken bronze rings
 - (c) thousands of glass beads, some of Pasemah (Sumatran) type, some of types rare in Sumatra and some of non-Sumatran type ; three long cornelian beads (of a type found in Malaya and elsewhere) and four "like pyramids with bases joined"
 - (d) two large earthenware beads
 - (e) woven patterns preserved in oxydised iron
 - (f) iron implements of the adze type and other types :—none of the socketted type.
- (B) There were 19 other Javanese slab-graves, lying E.W. ; one at Gunong Gabang containing beads and unglazed pottery ; two at Gondang near small menhirs,—one of them containing bits of unglazed pottery, beads, a small bronze ring and some teeth ; and 15 near Kali Oja, mostly above ground, with some beads and bronze fragments. Clearly the slab-graves of Java require further exploration.

Mr. Braddell (J.R.A.S.M.B. XVII, Pt. I, 1939, p. 147) contends that the Perak graves are on a site chosen as being on the route to Pahang gold-mines and near Perak gold-fields, that the river Bernam must be Ptolemy's Khryscanas and the the miners have been Indians. One can accept his statement as to the presence and attraction of gold on the Perak to Pahang route. But apart from the gold pin in a Sumatran slab-grave, none of the metal occurs in these graves, a rather extraordinary fact unless they have all been rifled. So unless there are found ancient gold-workings near the slab-graves of Sumatra and Java the trade of the dead must be counted unproven.

Mr. R. J. Wilkinson (*ib.* pp. 136-7) notes that the Malays now living near the Bernam and Sumatran sites believe in lycanthropy and Dr. Callenfels once told me, they all suffered from *Rhinosporidium*, but both these scholars have naturally refrained from drawing any conclusions from such curious details. Apparently Mr. Wilkinson would like to find a connection with the special burial reserved for Sakai magicians whose familiars are tigers, but again he wisely refrains. He seems to me less discreet

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in surmising that some or perhaps all of the graves are orientated towards mountains. There appears to be more evidence that the dead look west to the Malaysian underworld of sunset and death, but even that is not proved. The tentative ascription of these slab-graves to possible Indian immigration he regards as baseless, because there is no record of the export of iron from India and because "Indians, whether Hindus or Buddhists, practised cremation and did not build graves or put beads into them." The importation of iron would have preceded records and Southern India has revealed many burial sites, some containing pottery cists, some sarcophagi, some funeral urns. "As regards the urn burial, either the complete body was placed inside the urn or only a selection of bones often including the skull"—such a selection as also was found by Dr. Callenfels in the shell-heaps of Province Wellesley. These prehistoric burial grounds of South India belong to the Iron Age. Pottery constitutes the bulk of the finds in them, but there also occur grinding stones, iron swords, daggers and spearheads, bronze articles, cornelian and chrystal beads, and figures especially of the buffalo. (*Revealing India's Past* by Sir J. Cumming, 1939 pp. 113-7). Such a cursory summary of Indian remains has no scientific value for comparison but it shows that southern Indians did build graves in the Iron Age and did put beads in them. Sir John Marshall (*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 615) finds literary evidence in the Vedas that iron was introduced into north-west India during the second millennium B.C., but adds that in southern India it "probably did not take the place of stone until 500 B.C." There is, therefore, no *a priori* reason of structure contents or date why the Bernam slab-graves should not be Indian. And further evidence that they may have been is to hand in Wilkinson's own theory that their site lay on the then southern entrance to Perak, which a few centuries later reveals important Hindu and Buddhist remains that may well have followed earlier Indian visits. At the same time there is still insufficient evidence to prove the slab-graves were built by Indians or even under Indian influence.

According to Mr. Wilkinson "the mine-workers who used these old tools" (*i.e.* the socketted iron implements of the Perak slab-graves and from elsewhere in Kedah, Perak, Selangor and Pahang) "imported Indo-Chinese-Mon-words into local" (*i.e.* Negrito and Sakai) "speech and were probably themselves Indo-Chinese." *A fortiori* the builders of the Perak slab-graves were "probably Indo-Chinese." But the scientist will note several objections and moot points:—

- (1) In Indo-China only one megalithic "burial vault" has so far been unearthed, so far as I am aware.
- (2) While in southern Indian graves as in our slab-graves very few stone celts are recorded, it seems unlikely that none of the innumerable Indonesian neoliths that from Indo-China have found their way to Malaya and been

mānufactured there in great quantities should have been laid or left in or near these slab-graves, if their builders were Indo-Chinese.

- (3) Why should people who had such a great linguistic influence on the aborigines of Malaya have been tongue-tied in Sumatra and left no Mon loan-words in places where they built many slab-graves ?
- (4) Why should immigrants from Indo-China whether by land or sea settle at the end of a trans-Peninsular route furthest from their original home ?
- (5) If they crossed Malaya on the way from Indo-China to Sumatra, one would expect the oldest slab-graves in Perak. The presence of bronze and the rarity of iron in the Sumatran graves suggest that they are the older and that their builders were followed in Perak by a later wave of iron-users. One would expect perhaps a more continuous coming and going from Indo-China, whereas voyages from India might be sporadic and separated by longish intervals.
- (6) Linguistic traces of the later Mon invasion in Malaya are found only in the south *i.e.* in Ulu Tembeling, Ulu Kuantan, Sungai Serting, Sungai Palong, Ulu Endau and just north of Kuala Muar (J.R.A.S.M.B. XVII Pt. I, 1939, pp. 144-5). It was an earlier wave that carried Mon words to the Senoi of the central range up to which the Bernam route leads. But the earliest Mon *historical* monuments on the gulf of Siam belong to the 8th century A.D. and this would appear to be too late for the slab-graves.*
- (7) If iron came from Indo-China, would it have been such a salient feature in Malay magic and charms imported from India ?

The problem of slab-graves and iron implements remains unsolved. The bronze drums came beyond doubt from Indo-China to Malaya, Sumatra and Bali. Did the builders of the slab-graves in Java, Sumatra and Malaya also come with bronze from there ? Though bronze was still in common use in the Han period, yet the use of iron had begun : in Tonkin shanks of wrought iron as well as socketted bronzes and neoliths and cord-marked pottery are associated with bronze Han drums. If the builders of slab-graves did come from Indo-China, they must have preceded the first Mon historical monuments on the gulf of Siam. Did they

* *Note.* Oddly enough the only authentic example of Indo-Chinese bronze found in Malaya is a drum-head of the type Callenfels allocated to 400-300 B.C. recovered from the Tembeling river where according to linguistic evidence the second or quite later Indo-Chinese wave put Mon words among the aboriginal numerals.

all sail direct from Indo-China to the Sunda Straits and hark back to Perak from Sumatra? Or did some cross the gulf of Siam and others go overland to Assam? But for the bronze drums from Indo-China, one would *guess* the grave-builders came from British India, especially as 100 A.D. saw Indian influence strong in the Malayan region.

Further excavations are required and further comparative study of beads and of those socketted iron tools whose range it should be possible to trace with certainty. Especially more material is needed from India. Nor should these graves be considered apart from menhirs and other megaliths, while the possibility of more than one source for bronze and more than one megalithic culture in Malaysia should be kept in view. Fortunately all the discoveries in Malaysia have been well described and illustrated—except only for the Philippines where Dr. Otley Beyer says “stone-lined graves are rare” and some of them contain Sung pottery of the 10th century A.D. But alas! Dr. Beyer has given us neither illustrations, diagrams nor adequate accounts of the many prehistoric finds in the Philippines and one still awaits the results of American enterprise and scholarship.

A NOTE ON NORTHERN "DRIFTS" IN THE MALAY PENINSULA.

In the preceding article on the slab-graves of a so-called megalithic civilization in Malaysia, Sir Richard Winstedt asks two questions, among others, about the long past movements of men, or their cultures, in South-East Asia. To the author's specific subject I cannot contribute, but the zoo-geographer can put forward certain views perhaps suggestive to the prehistorian.

"Did they (i.e. the builders of the slab-graves) all sail direct from Indo-China to the Sunda Straits and hark back to Perak from Sumatra"?

Judging by the present distribution of certain animals it does seem likely that, in their case, such a movement took place, through Borneo (or in some cases to the west of that island by fast and little understood land connections) and then south to the edge of the Sunda shelf. Then, no further progress being possible, the drift curled round to the north-east, for excluding recession, there was nowhere else to go. The movement can be traced on certain islands off the west coast of Sumatra; it also reached North Sumatra, and a small amount of evidence suggests that an infiltration reached, and maybe still affects, the Malay Peninsula.

In addition to this eastern drift a second main influx, purely continental, came into Malaysia from the north through the Malay Peninsula. The southern limit of its elements may be noted at various latitudes in the Peninsula, but often much further afield, e.g. in Western Borneo.

Often these eastern and western drifts each include a representative of the same widely spread northern, continental form. Then, the extant local representatives may be, in zoological parlance, merely sub-specifically distinct, or on the other hand widely divergent in appearance and perhaps structure. In certain cases the ends of the two streams seem to have mixed and then we find two "species", differing from each other in characters that can be described, although vaguely, as quantitative rather than qualitative, existing side by side, on one or more of the Malaysian land masses. Physiological intolerance must here have played a part in perpetuating the difference between stocks once so closely related.

"Why should immigrants from Indo-China whether by land or sea settle at the end of a trans-Peninsular route furthest from their original home"?

In a number of instances an animal species in Malaysia is commonest on the extreme distal limit of its range (*i.e.* accepting a northern origin), and then there is usually a gap in the distribution occurring between it and its relatives living nearer to the supposed

point of invasion. A somewhat similar condition is presented by some Malaysian birds which occur, mainly, as winter migrants from the north. These species have in a number of cases established breeding resident races on the absolute southern periphery of the specific range. It would seem that the advance was wave-like, and not by gradual infiltration or encroachment in this case.

Without insisting too much on parallel developments it seems pertinent to suggest that the stimuli originating the southern movements of men and their cultures, may, in some cases at least, have been identical with those prompting the diffusion of animals, especially the larger mammals, and that the ways and means, the barriers and routes may sometimes be correlated. Such a similarity has already been mooted in the cases of some Bornean peoples and the orang-utan in Borneo.—*F. N. Chasen.*

MORE ON BENCOOLEN.

By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

In the sixteenth number of this Journal a short account was given of conditions in the British East India Company's settlement of Bencoolen during its earlier years and particularly between 1711 and 1715 when Joseph Collet was Deputy Governor. That short description was based largely on the Deputy Governor's private correspondence and was coloured necessarily by his own personal prejudice. It will now be supplemented by a second account of the Settlement, based this time on an autobiographical memoir by William Marsden who served at Bencoolen from 1771 to 1779, mainly in its Secretariat, and studied local conditions and the Malay language with a view to writing a "History of Sumatra" which appeared in 1783 and (a second edition) in 1784. He is better known by his Malay-English Dictionary published in 1811, no visit having been paid to Bencoolen in the interval. Many changes had occurred in the Settlement between the year 1715 when Deputy-Governor Collet left it and the year 1771 when William Marsden arrived as a writer in the Company's Service at the early age of 16. "Fort Marlborough", as Bencoolen was designated officially had been made an independent "Presidency" in 1763 during a temporary access of prosperity. It was still a Presidency when William Marsden arrived, but its prosperity had diminished. First impressions of Sumatra were favourable; "the luxuriant verdure and picturesque scenery of the coast" conveyed to Marsden the impression of "a terrestrial paradise". More fortunate than Collet he was welcomed at Bencoolen by an "affectionate and excellent brother", with whom he lived for some years and who introduced him to a local society "respectable both in numbers and the description of persons composing it." It was no longer limited to Collet's "five white things in petticoats."

Born on the 16th November, 1754, William Marsden was the sixth son of John Marsden, a bank-director in Ireland. Though Irish by birth he came of a Derbyshire family and had near relatives in England. He had been intended for a clergyman, but as his eldest brother had entered the East India Company's Service and was pleased with Bencoolen where he was stationed, William Marsden solicited and was given a writership at the same place. He embarked at Gravesend on the 27th December, 1770, and reached Bencoolen on the 29th May, 1771. There he was attached at once to the Secretariat, becoming Sub-Secretary to Government in 1773, Acting Secretary in 1774 and full Secretary in 1776. This was rapid promotion for any one of his age and was due in no way to family influence. He may have owed it in part to the fact that he was a gifted writer and to his Malay studies, for the Secretary had to interpret for the Council whenever it sat as a judicial body. Outside office-hours he went in for private theatricals in

which he took female parts and was genuinely interested, though he admits that he was never a Mrs. Siddons. He was also a writer of verse and even attempted a tragedy, "Maon and Moriat" based on an old Irish legend. Usually he wrote *vers de société*, prologues and epilogues for his theatricals and complimentary addresses to the local ladies who seem to have been fairly numerous. At the same time he says, "I omitted no opportunities of making remarks on and enquiries concerning whatever was striking in the productions of the country or peculiar in the manners of the natives, but it was not till a later period that I seriously directed my attention to collecting materials for giving an account of the island".

"My official situation", says Marsden, "whilst it required a competent knowledge of the general language of communication, afforded me much practical acquaintance with the criminal law, as in all cases of a capital or serious character, the examination of suspect persons were taken before the Council, conjointly with the native chiefs, and the questions and answers which passed in the Malayan tongue, committed to writing in English by the secretary. It was, at the same time, by studying the written character and exercising myself in the perusal of epistolary correspondence, in the first instance, and afterwards of regular compositions (for the most part either religious and legal tracts or heroic romances), that I laid the foundation of that degree of knowledge which enabled me after my return to England, to publish a Grammar and Dictionary of the language". Incidentally his "general residence at the seat of government did not prevent (his) paying occasional visits to the out-settlements", and so improving by travel his knowledge of Sumatra. At this time he seems to have been enjoying his service at Bencoolen and even to have thought of persuading one of the local ladies—afterwards Mrs Patrick—to stay on in Bencoolen and share his fortunes instead of returning to England, a return to which he tells us, "his poverty and not his will consented". He wrote odes to her from 1775 to 1777.

Mention has been made of the "native chiefs" who sat with the Governor in Council for purposes of criminal jurisdiction and for whom William Marsden interpreted. In Collet's time there seems to have been nothing of this; the only local chief mentioned by him by name is "Sultan Guillemot" of Bencoolen itself, a strange bird that I have been unable to identify. In July, 1825, when Fort Marlborough was handed over to the Dutch in compliance with the treaty of the 17th March, 1824, the council of native chiefs or "pangeran council" was constituted as follows:

Pangeran Linggang Alam of Sungai Lamu,
 Pangeran Raja Khalifah of Sungai Hitam,
 Raja Daeng Mabilah (chief of the Bugis),
 The four "Datos" of Bencoolen,
 The five "Datos" of Tengah Padang,
 The Kapitan China and two "lieutenants" of the Chinese.

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We seem to see here some sort of precursor of Sir Hugh Low's Perak Council of a much later date. The favourable impression so created is strengthened by the local complaint that these West Sumatran Native Councils (owing to the influence of the local *adat*) were not severe enough in the character of the punishments they inflicted. The age was one of brutal cruelty. The Dutch inflicted such punishments as impalement, mutilation, breaking on the wheel, and quartering ; while the Javanese princes pounded people to death in mortars, threw them to tigers to kill, or stabbed them with lancets poisoned with *ipoh* (*Antiaris toxicaria*).

It is notorious that Lord Minto when passing through Malacca in 1811 destroyed the instruments of torture in the local prison and immediately after his conquest of Java issued a proclamation saying that

“ Neither torture nor mutilation shall make part of any sentence to be pronounced against criminals.”

At Padang in West Sumatra where the common law of Minangkabau was in force even the death-penalty did not enter into the list of permissible punishments.

The history of Bencoolen is inglorious but it would seem that (with some exceptions) brutality to the local peoples did not enter into the category of the complaints against it. This is confirmed by Marsden's statement that “ the intercourse of Europeans with the inhabitants of the surrounding districts was by no means of a confined nature ” and by his account of the “ hospitable entertainment ” enjoyed by Europeans when travelling in the interior ; as also by Raffles' accounts of his Sumatran journeys, by the report of the Dutch commissioners who took over the settlement in 1825, and by Campbell's account of the protest of the local Chiefs against being handed over :

“ At a meeting of chiefs held at Government House at which English and Dutch authorities were both present for the purpose of completing the transfer, the senior rajah rose to address the assembly and spoke to the following effect. “ Against this transfer of my country I protest Who is there possessed of authority to hand me and my countrymen, like so many cattle, over to the Dutch or to any other power ? If the English are tired of us, let them go away, but I deny their right to hand us over to the Dutch. When the English first came here they asked for and got a piece of land to build warehouses and dwelling-houses upon. That piece of ground is still defined by its original stone wall and is all that the English have ever got from us. We were never conquered, and I now tell the English and Dutch gentlemen here assembled that, had I the power as I have the will, I would resist this transfer to the knife. I am however a poor man, have no soldiers to cope with yours and must submit. God's Will be done ! ”

Early in 1776 Marsden began to think of leaving the Service. One of his reasons was that "the effect of a set of orders transmitted by the authorities at home threw the management of the Company's affairs into confusion, divided the Settlement into parties, and rendered the duties of the Secretary particularly troublesome and annoying". He could not see eye to eye with the Directors and was justified by results in that the loss on Bencoolen between 1778 and 1783 was no less than £37,589. He was barely 23 years of age and financially not in a position to retire. The usual plan, he tells us, was "to remain in the Company's service until the annual savings from the emoluments of office should accumulate to what is termed a fortune, *i.e.* to such a sum as, when invested in English securities, would permit the owner to enjoy the conveniences of life without further exertion on his part". He had, however, a small nest-egg with which he hoped to buy himself some post in the Home Civil Service. He had also "heard and read much of the meetings, in London, of scientific and learned persons, of the attention paid to travellers who visited distant countries and communicated their observations, and especially of the enthusiastic spirit of curiosity excited, not in England only but throughout Europe, by the publication of the "Endeavour's" voyage to the islands of the Pacific Ocean and round the world, compiled chiefly from the journals of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, the former of whom was soon elevated to the President's chair of the Royal Society. The contemplation of these circumstances raised in my breast a longing desire to be allowed the opportunity of associating with such men and to become a participant in their liberal pursuits". To make this possible without undue financial difficulties he wrote to Mr. Anthony Chamier, Under-Secretary of State at the War Office, with a view "to the purchase of a situation under Government" from which he might expect in time to derive "a handsome annual return". Mr. Chamier's reply reached Bencoolen after Marsden had left the place. It is interesting.

"I have never known money procure any advantage to any individual when given in a private or clandestine way. Commissions in the Army are publicly sold. Some places in the law are also publicly sold. But I know of no means by which money can be secretly given to procure employments that are supposed to be gratuitously disposed of. This was many years ago the practice....I will boldly affirm to you that if the most intimate friend I had in the world would put three thousand guineas into my hand to dispose of them to his advantage in procuring employment, I should not be able to devise a means of being useful to him".

Marsden arrived in London, he tells us, "a young man of five and twenty, totally unknown to the world, without patronage, interest or even acquaintance". He did not find that his former

profession helped him in any way ; one jocose acquaintance asked him how many nabobs he had been instrumental in putting to death. His interest in research, however, made him many friends. Among them he mentions Sir Joseph Banks, P.R.S., Dr. Solander, Sir William Herschel, Dr. Maskelyne and others whom he had long looked forward to meeting. He discussed Sumatran botany (of which he had brought home examples) and had the satisfaction, thirty years later, of having the broad-leaved indigo named *Marsdenia* after him. Honours soon came. In 1783 he was elected an F.R.S. at the early age of 28 ; in 1784 a member of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta ; in 1785 he was elected an F.S.A. and an original member of the Royal Irish Academy ; in 1786 he was made an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford. At later dates he was destined for more academic distinctions ; he was a founder and original member of both the Royal Asiatic Society and Royal Geographical Society ; in 1813 his friend Raffles made him an honorary member of the Batavian Society ; in 1823 he became an associate of the Société Asiatique de Paris ; in 1824 he joined in the foundation of the Athenaeum Club and in 1827 of the Raleigh Club. He was happy too in his literary work. He published the first edition of his " History of Sumatra " in April, 1783, and the second in March 1784, having also the satisfaction of seeing a German translation of his work appear at Leipzig in 1785 and a French translation in 1783. A fourth English edition was printed in 1811. In that year also he published his Malay-English dictionary, and though he found its circulation somewhat disappointing owing to the British cession of Java to the Dutch he had the moral satisfaction of seeing his work taken up by the Government of Netherlands India which had it translated into French and also into Dutch by Mr. Elout, son of the Dutch Colonial Minister. Marsden's dictionary was the only Malay-English dictionary in regular use in Malaya up to the end of the Nineteenth Century, but the local governments had not troubled even to reprint it for the use of their officers.

Although William Marsden had been doomed to disappointment in his hope of obtaining by purchase a post in the Home Civil Service he was fated to realize his ambition in a more legitimate way. In 1782 he was offered and refused a good post as Secretary to an Admiral on the active list. In this refusal he was fortunate, for the flagship in which he was to have served went down with all hands. In 1795 he was induced to accept (after one refusal) the important post of Second Secretary to the Navy, at a salary raised afterwards to £1,500 a year in time of peace and £2,000 a year in time of war. It now became his duty to take a leading part in equipping British fleets for service in the Napoleonic wars and so to contribute materially to the successes that they gained. Among these he was destined to reckon such historic events as Duncan's victory at Camperdown and Nelson's at the Nile. In 1803 on the transfer of Sir Evan Nepean to the Irish Office with the honour of a baronetcy, Marsden was appointed

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First Secretary to the Navy (the position once held by Pepys) at a salary of £4,000 a year. His heart was really in his literary pursuits but he could not help being thrilled by the importance of his duties, culminating as they did in the great victory of Trafalgar. It fell to Marsden to have to announce this victory along with the sad news of Nelson's heroic death. At this date, for the only time in his life, Marsden desired to figure in the honours list as Sir William Marsden, Baronet of Trafalgar,—not for the sake of the title but for its connection with the victory. In this he was disappointed. In 1807 he retired from the Service, being granted a pension of £1,500 a year. In 1831 when the finances of the country had become somewhat strained Marsden decided that he could no longer "trespass on the national liberality", and as he had enough to live on he wrote to the Chancellor of the Exchequer resigning the whole of his pension as a sacrifice to the wants of the State. His letter announcing this "act of splendid liberality" was read to the House of Commons as a testimony to Marsden's high sense of honour.

Although Marsden's service at the Admiralty and his literary work on Malay subjects represent a very full life they do not cover by any means all that he did. He had a profound curiosity and was interested in all forms of research. Even in 1781 he was reading papers on Sumatran dialects and Sumatran fish besides discussing astronomical and botanical problems. In 1785 he read a paper on the language of the Gypsies; in February, 1786, he was collecting vocabularies of Corsican, Sardinian, Genoese and Piedmontese, in 1788 he was studying French; in 1789 he began a catalogue of grammars and dictionaries of all non-European modern languages, on which Sir George Staunton wrote, "The languages spoken at Babel will be nothing to your collection". In 1796 he wrote a paper "on the traces of the Hindu language and literature among the Malays"; in 1805 he began a collection of Oriental coins of which he afterwards published a catalogue, "Numismata Orientalia Illustrata"; from 1814 to 1817 he was translating Marco Polo; later in life he interested himself in the translation of Oriental alphabets into the Roman character and in the bestowal of his collections of books, coins and MSS. His coins are now the Marsdenian Collection at the British Museum and his books and MSS. (catalogued in 1827) formed part of the library of King's College, London.

After his retirement from the Admiralty in 1807 Marsden married Elizabeth, daughter of his great friend, the Oriental scholar Sir Charles Wilkins. She was a good deal younger than her husband but proved a devoted wife and contributed materially to his happiness. In 1836 Marsden died quietly in his sleep at the age of 81. He had just out-lived his father-in-law and friend, Sir Charles Wilkins, and two of his brothers, Frederick and Alexander Marsden. Frederick, a lieutenant-colonel in the H.E.I.C.S. died in Ireland at the

age of 77 while Alexander had been Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland till 1806 and afterwards Chairman of the Board of Excise and Taxes till 1814. His father, John Marsden, had died in 1801 at the age of 87. After William Marsden's death the Duke of Sussex, as President of the Royal Society, pronounced on him the following eulogy.

“He enjoyed to a very advanced age extraordinary vigour of mind and body, equally respected and beloved for his learning and very varied acquirements, for his independent and disinterested character and for his many social and domestic virtues”.

Although good luck seems to have followed Marsden throughout his long life it had had very little to say to his old home at Bencoolen. As we have seen, Marsden himself was not pleased with the Directors' policy; he seems to have scented trouble, and trouble came. It came in the form of war, first between England and France and then between England and Holland. The Indiaman on which Marsden sailed was detained for 32 days at St. Helena there to make part of a fleet of eight similar ships that were to go home under the protection of H.M.S. “Warwick”, a fifty-gun man-of-war. The Indiamen from India proper were carrying French prisoners from the garrisons of Pondicherry and Mahe. Marsden tells us also that the rupture with the Dutch exposed the Company's Sumatran settlements in more than a common degree to the chances of war. Actually the Dutch were fated to suffer more than the English. All their West Sumatran settlements fell for a time at least into British hands, while the Dutch East India Company itself was so stricken in its finances that it never recovered. War is not a profitable business for anybody. The loss on Bencoolen between 1778 and 1783 was £37,589. It may be that this loss contributed to the British Company's willingness to try an alternative settlement at Penang; on April, 18th, 1805, the Directors expressed the opinion that Bencoolen was of no importance whatever from a political and commercial point of view, while its only export, pepper, was an unprofitable business. In 1801 West Sumatra had been reduced to a mere residency with a staff of one resident, four assistants and four writers, all the sub-residencies being abolished. In 1805 Penang was made a presidency with a large and expensive civil service. In 1807 the Bencoolen Resident, Mr. Thomas Parr, was murdered, along with one of his writers, Mr. Charles Murray, by “a band of Malay assassins”. The reasons seem to have been political and may have been due to an attempt to make the settlement pay its way better, either by a poll-tax or otherwise, Mr. Murray seems to have been killed while defending Mrs. Parr. So much at least, we learn from the tombstones at Fort Marlborough.

Incidentally Marsden's account of his experiences on his journey home gives us a picture of the difference between civilised warfare then and now, a difference that it is rather painful to

record. Men were more chivalrous then. He says this of the prisoners whom he met at St. Helena on his way :

" many of them were men of rank and fashion, all were gentlemanlike in their manners and their ladies were generally pleasing and accomplished. The daughter of a M. Duplessis, Mademoiselle Louison, was particularly admired. The Comte Ducaire, Chief Engineer, was remarkable for the elegance of his manners. Their characteristic gaiety did not appear to be affected by their misfortunes ; they were, on the contrary, the liveliest inhabitants of the place, and being musical performers as well as good dancers, their company was acceptable at all parties. They had been readily indulged with leave to come ashore, on the excuse of their suffering from ill-health ; but in this plea, the old colonel of the Pondicherry regiment (and Brigadier-General) refused to join, as partaking of an untruth, and did not land until he received a special invitation from Governor Skottowe. In consequence of these accessions the neat little town was extremely full of company and the scene of much social amusement, which caused my detention in the island (of nearly five weeks) to appear the reverse of tedious ".

So also at a later date (1797) when Marsden as Asst. Secretary to the Admiralty was present at a dinner given by Lord Spencer to " the hero of Camperdown and his distinguished prisoners " he says that Admiral de Winter conducted himself, under delicate circumstances, with much politeness and good humour, and that in " the conversation, in which Lady Spencer took an active share, the bravery of the vanquished was the prevailing theme of applause."

As a result of this chivalry the close of a war left little ill-feeling behind it. When William's eldest brother, John Marsden, came home from Bencoolen in 1783 he had to be left behind for ill-health at St. Helena—luckily for himself as his Indianman, the " Nancy ", was lost with all hands off the Scilly Islands. In 1784 he was given a passage to Rochefort in the French warship, *Le Flamand*, 54 guns, as the personal guest of her commander, the Marquis de St. Felix, the Marquise being also on board. Even during the war William Marsden had been allowed as a non-combatant to travel freely in France and to find that the French people were deploring the tragedy of the accidental loss of the " Royal George ", though that loss was to their advantage. When Raffles was going home from Java he also called at St. Helena and made a point of calling on Napoleon. Being instructed by Governor Sir Hudson Lowe to insist on being covered in the ex-Emperor's presence he entered hatless, then bowed deeply and putting his hat on said " Only by order, Sire." This incident recalls Byron's lines

" Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir Hudson *low*,
By name and eke by nature so."

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At the close of the Eighteenth Century the Dutch settlements in West Sumatra came again into British possession but until 1810 British shipping from West Sumatra suffered terribly from the depredations of French warships and privateers based on Mauritius and Reunion. Reunion was captured on the 8th July, 1810, and Mauritius on the 3rd December of the same year. The Moluccas had been conquered a little earlier and Java was subdued in 1811. These conquests should have made Bencoolen more prosperous ; actually they brought about only one material change. From 1621 up to 1800 spice-growing had been a monopoly—rigidly guarded—of Banda and Amboyna. The great John Peterson Coen in 1621 had destroyed all spice-plantations other than those in Banda and Amboyna and had prohibited their being replanted. At Banda he had massacred the bulk of the population of 15000, reduced the thousand survivors to slavery and then divided up the clove-plantations and the slaves among old servants of the Company. To these estate-proprietors, or “parkeniers” as they were called, he promised a safe market for their produce on condition that they sold it all to the Company at the Company’s own price. To make Banda a genuine Dutch colony he offered a free passage and monetary help to any Dutch girl who would emigrate to Netherlands India in search of a husband. He did this, of course, through the seventeen Directors who chose the young ladies in Holland and sent them out with the title “Daughters of the Company”. Unfortunately the “daughters”, chosen did no credit to their parentage and scandalized by their behaviour the puritan John Peterson Coen. Some found husbands ; one, at least, married a Banda parkenier ; but many were sent back in disgrace. The parkeniers themselves underwent many vicissitudes of fortune but had become (in 1796) a flourishing, if somewhat mixed, community of 119 Europeans, 624 Eurasians and 5020 Bandanese serfs. Amboyna and its nutmegs had been treated in much the same way. The Company itself did very well out of the monopoly. Cloves, for instance, were paid for (partly in cash and partly in over-priced goods) at 15 to 17 guilder-cents a pound and sold in Europe at from 20 to 40 times the purchase price. The breaking of this monopoly promised great prosperity to such British possessions as could grow spices. A friend of William Marsden, Mr. Broff, introduced this form of cultivation into Bencoolen, and Raffles encouraged it afterwards in every way. The cession of Bencoolen to the Dutch in 1824 ruined the owners of these plantations owing to Dutch discouragement. But in 1800 and 1801 spice-cuttings (24,820 nutmegs and 15,958 cloves) had been taken for planting from the Moluccas to Penang and at a much later date were taken to Singapore from Bencoolen by members of the Leicester family. The industry flourished at Penang for some considerable time.

By the convention concluded between Great Britain and Holland on the 13th August, 1814, it was mutually agreed that
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Java and the other Dutch dependencies in Malaysia should be returned to Holland. Java was handed over formally on the 18th August, 1816; Raffles himself had sailed for England on the 26th March of that year, a disappointed man, somewhat discredited owing to the charges brought against him by Major-General Sir Robert Gillespie, the commander of the British forces in Java. The actual handing-over of Java was carried out by another Lieut.-Governor, Mr. John Fendall, and by Gen. Sir Miles Nightingale, Commanding the Troops. Before leaving, Raffles had used the following prophetic words.

“ If I were to believe that the Javanese were again to be ruled on the former principles of government I should indeed quit Java with a heavy heart; but a brighter prospect is, I hope, before them. The people of Java will be happy, if not happier, under the Dutch than under the English. I say happier, because Java will in importance be more to Holland than she could ever be to England, and the attention bestowed by the one country must naturally be greater than that likely to be afforded by the other.”

Raffles was, as he said, “ without family pretensions, fortune or powerful friends.” By many in England he was well received, but not by the East India directors who pronounced his sale of Java lands a “ questionable proceeding.” He was given a knighthood but that honour had long previously been conferred on Sir Thomas Sevestre, only his body-physician. He returned to the East with the rank of Lieut.-Governor, certainly, but only in charge of the unimportant Bencoolen residency. On the 22nd March, 1818, Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles landed at “ Fort Marlborough ”. She can hardly have been pleased. Government House had been made uninhabitable temporarily by an earthquake and was overrun by polecats, while the streets were overgrown with weeds and infested by pariah-dogs. We learn also from Raffles himself that “ the state of society, even among the Europeans, was very bad ” and that he expected the higher authorities to “ attend more closely to the religious and moral character of their establishment ”. In May he set out with Lady Raffles, Dr. Arnold (the botanist) and Mr. Presgrave (then Resident at Manna) on a visit to the Sumatran hinterland behind Bencoolen. He was received everywhere with friendliness and was impressed by the richness of the vegetation and the enormous size of the trees. On this journey with Dr. Arnold the two discovered the flower now known as *Rafflesia Arnoldi*, a flower a yard wide and so the largest in the world. But Raffles did not limit his interest to science. On the 23rd May he made a treaty with the Chief of Pasumah Ulu Manna bringing that hill-district under British protection. On the 18th June he made an agreement with the heads of the Laye district freeing pepper-cultivation from all Government control and guaranteeing a price of from 3 to 6 dollars per cwt. for pepper, according to its quality, if delivered

at the Bencoolen store-houses ; delivered on the spot to the local chiefs it was to be paid for at the rate of \$15 per *bahara* of five-cwt., but the Chiefs were to be paid salaries, and a hut-tax of \$3 a family was to be levied. Two agreements were made also on the 4th July with Pangeran Linggang Alam of Sungai Lamu and Pangeran Raja Khalifah of Sungai Hitam. These agreements were more complex. They called for a hut-tax (*hasil kĕlamin*), brought all lands under government-ownership, gave the Chiefs monthly salaries, and put the price of pepper at \$30 a *bahara* subject to an export-duty of \$3 a *bahara*. These agreements were never brought properly into force, and it is hardly likely that direct taxation can have been popular. It is even suggested that Raffles feared the fate of Parr if he pressed matters too far.

Later in July Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles went to Padang, long the Dutch headquarters in West Sumatra and still unreturned to them. His account suggests that he wanted to visit the historic Minangkabau, the most distinctive of all Malay States. On the 16th July he left Padang for the interior with 4 European officials, fifty sepoy and about a hundred carriers. On the 19th he reached the village of Solok where a large concourse of Minangkabau Malays met him and asked him if the Dutch were likely to return. On his reassuring them they proceeded to prepare a petition to the King of England asking H.M. to extend to them his gracious favour and protection. This document Raffles described as one of the highest national importance in view of the fact that Minangkabau once exercised a sort of suzerainty over all Sumatra. Actually the Solok villagers had as much right to speak for the old Minangkabau world as the three tailors of Tooley Street had to begin their petition, "We the people of England." From Solok Raffles went on the 21st to Saningbakar and crossed the Singkarak lake on the following day, so reaching Semawang at the point where the Ombilien river flows out of the lake. From Semawang he made an excursion to Suruasa and thence to Pagar-ruyong, the former capital, where he was delighted to find a number of inscriptions in the ancient Kawi character of Java. From Pagar-ruyong he made his way back to Semawang where he got into touch with the so-called "Padris", a community of religious fanatics, Wahabite puritans, who had been converted while on the pilgrimage to Mecca and then returned to Pedir in Sumatra (whence the name *Pediri* corrupted to *Padri*). These men assured Raffles that they wished only to live in peace and hoped that he would help them to convert all the world to their own view of what was the true religion. He hoisted the British flag at Semawang and left there a small outpost of six Sepoys, increasing it later to 2 officers and 100 men with a British Resident, Mr. Salmon (or Salmond ?), who had acted as Resident of Padang and is perhaps to be identified with the Francis Salmond who was a magistrate at Singapore in 1823. Raffles was delighted with Minangkabau for, apart from its scientific and

antiquarian interest it was high—over 3000 feet above the sea—with lovely scenery, a delightful climate and a population of skilful and industrious agricultural workers who shook his belief that the Javanese were far in advance of the Malays. He was even delighted with the local water-buffaloes whom he described as “being without exception the most beautiful little animals I ever beheld.” In the Peninsula not even the most daring writer of quatrains (*pantun*) has ever ventured to liken his best-beloved to a water-buffalo but the Minangkabau *Kərbau* is not the Peninsular *kərbau bėnuang* but a local midget, the *kərbau bėras*, *k. mėlukut* of less objectionable appearance though it seems to belie the old legend that these highlands got the name of *Mėnang-kərbau* from the warlike prowess of their buffaloes.

From Samawang Raffles returned to Padang and from Padang to Bencoolen where on the 21st Sept. he made a treaty with the ruling Chiefs of Lintang (Pasumah Lebar) on the Barisan range separating the Palembang and Jambi watershed from the rivers flowing to the West Coast. This treaty brought under British protection tracts of country that had always been in political and economic touch with the Dutch Government and the Sultan of Palembang, the latter connection has now been traced to 29 B.C. and earlier. To Bencoolen they meant nothing commercially so that the treaty bears out (what Raffles' journey to Minangkabau also suggests) that he had in view the formation of a British empire in Sumatra to make good the loss of Java. Probably this was so, though the idea came to nothing in the end. Raffles had another plan as well. In a letter to William Marsden (dated 7th April, 1818) he spoke of “setting up our shop next the Dutch.” He wanted to destroy Dutch monopoly by competition. He had made Bencoolen a free port, abolishing the customs revenue altogether; and now he opened another free port at Samangka Bay in the Straits of Sunda. Bencoolen was badly situated for a trade-centre and Samangka Bay did not attract as much shipping as he had expected. This was perhaps fortunate, as the imagination boggles at the thought of what might have happened in 1883 to a Singapore situated within easy reach of the Krakatoa volcano. In the autumn of 1818 Raffles set out for Bengal in the hope of interesting the Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, in his plans for a British Sumatra and for a free port in the Eastern seas. For the first plan he could get no help whatever—Hastings had promised to cede even Padang to Baron van der Capellen; but Hastings was ready to consent to the opening of a free port provided it was arranged so as not to bring England into war with the Dutch. On the strength of this promise Raffles wrote to Marsden from his Indiaman on the 12th Dec. 1818, predicting that this next letter would be from the ancient Malay city of Singapore. It was. Raffles founded Singapore on the 29th Jan. 1819 in a manner that did not commend itself either to Lord Hastings, to the Dutch, to the Directors of the East India Com-

pany or to the British Ministry under Lord Bathurst who described it later as an unauthorised act by one whose proper business was that of "a pepper-buying agent" of a trading company. Meanwhile Raffles had stayed on in Singapore till nearly the end of the year, organizing the new settlement so as to ensure its commercial success. Commercially it was an extraordinary success and rose almost at once from a population of one or two hundred fishermen to one of 2000 people; and from no trade at all to one valued at £2,000,000. On the 17th March, 1824, Great Britain and Holland signed a convention which recognized the British ownership of Singapore but ceded Bencoolen to the Dutch in exchange for Malacca.

In the autumn of 1819 Raffles had left Singapore to resume his duties at Bencoolen. On his arrival he found that Padang and some of its dependencies had been returned to the Dutch on the 22nd. May. The actual surrender was made by the Acting British Resident, Mr. Digby Delamotte, to the Dutch Commissioners, Mr. James Dupuy, Resident-elect, and Col. Maurice Dibbetz, commanding H.N.M.S. *Wilhelmina*. It would seem however that the small British force of two officers and 100 men was not recalled from Minangkabau and that objection was taken to the return of Ayer Bangis, the claim being put forward that it was a dependency of Natal and not of Padang. Not till 1825 was the whole of the West Coast of Sumatra restored to the Dutch. Raffles however could profit little by the difficulties that he made for his rivals. The annual cost of Bencoolen and its many dependencies was very great; Campbell puts it at £100,000. The total export of pepper was found by the Dutch in 1825 to be 2539 cwt. or 2131 pikuls. This figure includes the out-stations at Salumah, Manna, Ngollam, Moko-Moko, Croee and Laye. At an export-duty of \$3 a *bahara* of 5 cwt. this represented only \$1500 a year. Import duties had previously been levied on many articles but they had been cancelled to allow of free trade, while the gambling-farm, the opium farm, the poll-tax on slaves and even the use of slave-labour were all against the principles held by Sir Stamford Raffles. He may have taken the "longer view" in such matters but it was not one that could have appealed greatly to the Directors of the East India Company. In the meantime he did his best to stimulate trade and the planting of spices but it was unlikely that the Dutch, if Bencoolen were to be surrendered to them, would encourage competition with their Spice Islands. Bencoolen had indeed fallen on evil days.

On his next visit to Singapore Raffles found it necessary to suspend the Resident, Col. Farquhar, and to appoint Dr. John Crawford of the Bengal Medical Service in his place. Crawford had served under Raffles in Java, was on his return from a mission to Siam and was an Oriental scholar of great distinction. On the 6th June, 1823, Raffles left Singapore for Bencoolen, touching at Batavia where the Governor-General Baron van der Capellen

refused him permission to land and treated him with great discourtesy. At Bencoolen he did not linger long. On the 2nd Feb. he sailed for England on the Indiaman, *Fame*, with an immense collection of books, MSS., drawings, maps and botanical and natural history specimens. On the following day the "*Fame*" was destroyed by fire, along with all his collections, but fortunately with no loss of life. On the 8th April he sailed from Bencoolen once more and reached England on the 22nd August, broken in health and bitterly disappointed. His literary and scientific tastes cheered him for a time in London and he founded the Zoological Society, but, unlike his friend Marsden, he did not find hobbies enough for happiness. Within two years he was dead. On the 17th March, 1824, Britain and Holland had signed a convention that he must have regarded with mixed feelings. It recognized British authority over Singapore but ceded Bencoolen to the Dutch in exchange for Malacca. Fort Marlborough, with its dependencies, was handed over to the Dutch while Raffles was still alive. The long story of the British connection with West Sumatra now comes to an end. On the 6th April, 1825, Bencoolen was surrendered formally by the British Resident, Mr. J. Prince, to Col. de Stuers and Mr. B. C. Verploegh, the Commissioners representing the Dutch Government.

Why was the long British connection with Sumatra so unprofitable and inglorious? It is easy to be wise after an event and to point out what might have been done; but in this case it is plain from Marsden's reasons for resigning his post in the Bencoolen Service that even in his time there was local dissatisfaction with the way things were being managed by the Directors of the East India Company. So it may be of some interest to look into the matter and enquire how Bencoolen was governed or misgoverned at that time. Was it indeed being governed at all? We have seen that after the founding of Singapore the Lieut.-Governor of Bencoolen (Raffles) was described officially by Lord Bathurst as a "pepper-buying agent of the East India Company" and no more. Was that all he was? So also Deputy-Governor Collet of Bencoolen said early in the eighteenth Century that after the war "giving dollars for your pepper will be all the business I shall have to do". This was so, but the same Deputy-Governor tells us that he claimed authority over "one emperor" and "several kings" (not to mention "Sultans, pangrans, rajahs and dattas") whom he treated with "the forms and air of a superior". We know also that the British authorities on the West Coast of Sumatra levied taxation on the local inhabitants: import and export duties, gambling-farms, etc. Should the head of the Bencoolen settlement be styled a real administrator or was he only "a pepper-buying agent of the East India Company"? And in any case why should the government pretend that he was a "pepper-buyer" and no more. The answer to these questions will explain the whole situation.

The agents of the East India Companies came out to Indonesia in the first instance as pepper-buyers and no more ; and their employers, the Directors in Europe, were interested throughout in the purchase of pepper and in little else. As late as 1740 pepper represented one third of the entire business of the Dutch East India Company. But it never seems to have occurred to any one that the best way to encourage pepper-growing was to make it profitable to the growers. The policy pursued was that of paying very low prices so as to secure a larger margin of profit for the buyers and as a result less and less pepper was grown. Compulsion was then used until at last (in 1796) the Sultan of Bantam burnt down all his pepper-plantations to escape the intolerable burden that they had become to his people. The Dutch East India Company went bankrupt in 1798 as a result of its grasping and short-sighted policy, but its methods lived on. The British authorities at Bencoolen were also in the habit of bringing pressure to bear on the "sultans, pangrans, rajahs and dattas" to get them to grow more pepper. Marsden tells us that the local officials were sent on patrol at certain seasons to see that the pepper-gardens were not being neglected and that they found this rather a pleasant duty. When John Marsden was sent on one of these patrols his poetic brother, the lexicographer, addressed him as follows :

Through what rude deserts have you been,
Thick woods and torrents too, I ween,
How many monsters have you seen,
So frightful ?
And then, how strange, at night oppress
By toil, with songs you're lulled to rest,
Of rural goddesses the guest.
Delightful !

For "goddess" we have to read *gadis*, the Sumatran word for *anak dara* (maiden). The village girls (so Marsden tells us) used "to soothe or disturb the rest of the wearied stranger with unceasing melodies till daybreak".

When the pepper-buying first began it was done by fleets of ships ; but as the arrival of a fleet of pepper-buyers was apt to put up the price of pepper, "factories" were placed at ports to buy and store spices until the ships should arrive. In 1613, for instance, we are told that the sudden coming of Capt. Saris' British fleet to Bantam caused the local Chinese middlemen to put up prices by ten dollars-cent a sack. Had the captain bought up the entire Bantam crop for the year this ten cents would have represented a loss of only \$3000 in all. Such a loss was less than the cost of a factory but the factory was the surer way of doing business. The factors in their turn grumbled at the thefts from their stores and at the local taxes and presents expected by the native princes. The factory was replaced by a fort with a garrison—a still more expensive way of doing business. The Companies, whether

English or Dutch, thought that the heavy cost of a fort would be offset by their escape from exactions and by the influence they could exert on the local people to sell spices at still lower rates. They failed to reckon with human nature. In 1673 the great Dutch fortress at Batavia brought in a revenue of 44,000 guilders as against an expenditure of 1,000,000 guilders. The effect of this loss was to drive the Dutch to greater exactions and incidentally to their forcing the Sultan of Bantam to close the British factory at Bantam ; and so out of this closing came the British fort at Bencoolen run on much the same vicious lines. Pepper-buying and government are distinct arts and the old Companies shone in neither.

The East India Companies, whether Dutch or English, were essentially trading bodies in Indonesia and used government only as an aid to business. Usually they went in for what is now known as "indirect rule". In most cases they asked a local ruler for a monopoly of certain produce at a fixed price and gave him sometimes a percentage or interest in the business done. We have seen that in 1818 Raffles himself made agreements of this type with the Malay Chiefs ruling the hinterland of Bencoolen. Indirect rule of this sort lent itself to two different kinds of abuses. Under the first the low prices paid by the Company and the "pickings" levied by local officials and Indonesian Chiefs left the cultivator with insufficient money to live upon. So disgraceful were these conditions that the Dutch Government had to intervene and press for the reforms proposed by Dirk van Hogendorp, namely a reasonable land rent for the cultivators and fixed salaries for the officials, instead of giving them "pickings" from what they collected. The second kind of abuse to which indirect rule lent itself was tyranny by Indonesian autocrats. Sir George Staunton who visited Batavia in 1793 with Lord Macartney's embassy to China reported that "the Mahometan princes in Java are all despots and do not rule in the hearts of their subjects". Their tyranny was almost unbelievable ; and as these princes were feudatories of the Dutch government that government was discredited greatly by what it left unpunished. For this reason Daendels and Raffles were both anxious to tighten their authority over the Javan Sultanates. Reforms were introduced also by Lord Minto who abolished torture and made justice humaner, whether in native or in European Courts. By the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the evils of Company rule were beginning to be done away with, but it was left to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries to seek to make government do actual good and not to content itself with eschewing evil. These efforts to secure good government are of extraordinary interest.

The first reformers aimed only at removing abuses. Dirk van Hogendorp and Raffles both sought to obtain for the cultivator a fair return for his labour and not a mere pittance that was often insufficient to save him from starvation. Both Daendels and

Raffles sought to stop misgovernment by native princes ; on one occasion indeed a Susuhunan had thrown a hundred women naked to be torn to pieces by his tigers while he sat gloating over their sufferings. Lord Minto had humanized the brutal criminal law. But it was left for their successors to apply consciously to Indonesia Burke's saying on Fox's East India Bill that "all political power which is set over men ought to be in some way or other exercised for their benefit." Barely had the British left Java when Baron van der Capellen took up very seriously the question of the selection and training of officials for the local Civil Service. On the 14th July, 1817, Muntinghe, who had been one of Raffles' trusted advisers, wrote to his Commissioners as follows : " Knowledge of Indonesian languages, of Indonesian customs and institutions, and appreciation of the character and the useful qualities of the population are, we consider we may suggest to Your Excellencies, indispensable requisites in all officials who will in future be entrusted with the collection of rural revenues ". Today a selected candidate for the Civil Service of Netherlands India is expected either to obtain a Doctorate in Law and Administration besides passing a severe examination in an Indonesian language or alternatively to obtain a Doctorate in Oriental languages and to pass a severe examination in law and administration.

So also in 1820 the Javanese " regents " were ordered " to look after agriculture, cattle-raising, security, public health, irrigation, roads, education, a fair division of rates and taxes, registration and the execution of laws ", while the Residents attended to the judicature and the police. Today, of course, the regents are highly educated men with special training in their duties. All this we can learn from Dr. Angelino's valuable work on " Colonial Policy ". This is not to depreciate the work of Englishmen. Very shortly after the injunction was issued Raffles at Singapore founded the " Singapore Institution " to train British Civil Servants in local languages and native princes in English and in science, while he organized local research by the creation of a museum for that purpose. But the seed he sowed fell on stony places. The training of British Civil Servants in Malay was only introduced about fifty years later. The teaching of English and science to Malay princes took even longer to mature, though the one Malay prince to study English (Sultan Abubakar of Johore) had justified his education. The Museum—the present-day Raffles Museum—was only built in the eighties. The Singapore Institution itself became a useful school for training clerks in mercantile offices. Even so,—in course of time and largely by the aid of the Queen's Scholarships,—it was destined to produce distinguished men who brought about great changes for the better in Singapore. We are left to wonder what would have happened had the Nineteenth Century Malay Sultans been given the education that Raffles sought to give them, and had the earlier Straits Civil Servants

been trained to take an intelligent and sympathetic interest in the Asiatic peoples around them. But, as the Malay proverb tells us: "repentance in time is gain, repentance too late is vain."

In a modest way both the Dutch and English Companies had done something to develop the resources of the rich regions committed to their care. The Dutch authorities, for instance, introduced the cultivation of coffee into Java about the year 1700 A.D. The first plants had arrived in 1696. Sugar-cane had always been grown but the Company organized and extended its cultivation by building and controlling mills. It was the Dutch Government also that introduced the cultivation of tea into Java in 1825 and of cinchona in 1854. It is true that like pepper, coffee and sugar, tea and cinchona were Dutch government-monopolies at first, but none the less their introduction added materially to the wealth and ultimately to the prosperity of Java. Of late years rubber has been grown and more has been left to private enterprise, but the intermediate "Government" stage has resulted in the Java peasant having a greater hold on the profits of agriculture and on the tenure of land than he would have had if everything has been left to large estates and to foreign capital. In this respect it is perhaps unfortunate that the Straits Settlements,—notably Singapore, Penang and Province Wellesley,—were virtually unpopulated areas when first occupied by the British Company. This fact made their prosperity dependent largely upon coolie labour from outside and so led to a system of development that was copied in the Malay States where conditions were very different and resembled more closely those in Java. In the matter of Indonesian studies both Companies were officially inactive, but individual officers like Marsden, Raffles, Crawford, Arnold and Horsfield, did good work and two important Societies were founded, the Batavian Society by the Dutch and the Calcutta Asiatic Society by the British. Raffles was the first to see the connection of scientific studies with enlightened Government. He revived the Batavian Society and decreed the Singapore Museum.

Within easy reach of Bencoolen is the rich gold-mine of Rejang Lebong on which the dividend in 1908 was 100 p.c., while in 1911 the output of gold from this one mine represented £353,750. There was no secret about the existence of such mines. The old workings were there for all to see; Sumatra was notoriously *Suvarnavdipa*, "the isle of gold" to the Hindus; and the Dutch had already mined gold in it. Had the Bencoolen authorities discovered this mine, says Campbell, Bencoolen would have paid handsomely and Sumatra might still be British. So also between Bencoolen and the out-Station at Moko-moko the Dutch scientist Junghuhn discovered (in 1863) rich springs of petroleum. Copper too is found on the Sumatran Coast. It is clear that the East India Company directors cared only for trade and did little to study the rich countries committed to their care. Let us not criticise

them too severely ; it was not till 1903 or 1904 that a Government Geologist was first employed in Malaya. In agriculture the Dutch East India Company was at times more grasping than the British, but after the abolition of the Company things changed greatly. In British Malaya nearly everything has been left to private enterprise. In Netherlands India the Government has directed all agriculture. At first its policy was that of making as much profit as possible for itself and for the mother-country, but latterly this policy has changed and the interests of the peasant-cultivators have been furthered in every way. In Malaya we have seen the greater industries (such as sugar-growing, tin-mining and rubber-planting) left entirely to private individuals with the result that the people of the country, Malays and aborigines, have benefited little from the exploitation of their soil by British capitalists and by coolies imported from abroad. In the long run, the Dutch system (as Raffles foresaw) proved kindlier to the people of Indonesia than the English. But many of its merits are traceable to the work of Englishmen like Marsden and Raffles. If the story of the British connection with Sumatra is inglorious the "men on the spot" cannot be held altogether to blame. They worked under the direction of men in London who treated them as mere pepper buyers, took no interest whatever in Sumatra and knew no more about administration than can be picked up by a careful correspondence-clerk. They disgusted Marsden into leaving the service and hounded Raffles to his death.

[Bibliography ; (1) "A brief Memoir of the life and writings of William Marsden", London, 1838 ; (2) Memoir of Sir Stamford Raffles by his widow ; (3) "Java", by Maclaine Campbell ; (4) "Opstellen over Sumatra's West Kust," by E. B. Kielstra ; (5) P. H. van der Kemp's notes on Kielstra's work ; (6) "Colonial Policy" by Dr. de Kat Angelin ; and (7) "Malaysia" by Rupert Emerson.]

DUARTE BARBOSA'S REFERENCES TO TRADE AT MALACCA IN CUTCH, COSTUS AND ALEPPO GALLS

By I. H. BURKILL.

When Vasco de Gama had returned from his famous first voyage to India, Pedro Alaverez Cabral set out (9 March, 1500) and Duarte Barbosa went with him. Duarte served his country thenceforward in Cochin, Cannanore and Calicut, and on two occasions sailed to Gujarat. In 1513 he thought he had been unjustly passed over for promotion and after the failure of a petition he returned home (1516) and threw in his lot (1519) with Magellan in his dubiously loyal service to Spain, to meet his death by violence (1521), as did Magellan, in Cebu.

His mind was active and orderly ; and " The Book of Duarte Barbosa ", which he compiled in India and on the voyage home, was a gazetteer of considerable merit. In somewhat abbreviated translations it was published in Spanish and Italian, the full Portuguese text remained unprinted until 1812. From the last Dames prepared the English edition printed by the Hakluyt Society as their volumes 44 (1918) and 49 (1921).

In them we read (vol. 44 pp. 154-5) that Gujarat sent to Malacca " drugs . . . such as cachopucho " and (vol. 49, p. 173) that ships which had carried Chinese goods to Malacca returned to China with " drugs of Cambaya . . . one . . . which they call cacho and another which they call pucho mangiçam, that is gall-nuts brought inland from the Levante to Cambaya by way of Mecca ", and (vol. 49, p. 174) that ships of Java took from Malacca " cacho and pucho, which are Cambaya drugs . . . much valued in Java ".

A little knowledge of Malay shows the drugs to have been kachu, puchok and manja kani, the Portuguese text being at fault in the first quotation in not dividing cachopucho into two words by a comma, and in the second in the omission of a comma between pucho and the following term which should have been mangiçani, " ni " have been misread as " m ".

What Duarte had to convey was that ships putting to sea from Gujarat carried, along with other things, Indian cutch, puchok (*i.e.* the root of *Saussurea lappa* procured in the north-western Himalaya) and Aleppo galls which had travelled overland to Gujarat, and that these changed hands in Malacca, all three being forwarded to China and the first two to Java.

Duarte uses Malay words as if his information had come from Malacca whither he had not been. The drugs were shipped in Gujarat whither he had been ; and it is clear he had not collected his information there. At a later date in Magellan's ship with

Duarte was an enslaved Malay used as an interpreter, and, as Pigafetta's account of the voyage shows, well able to give information. Duarte is not unlikely to have employed such a man as a source of information; and as Diego Lopez de Sequiera's expedition against Malacca with five ships in 1508 and Albuquerque's capture of Malacca with eleven ships in 1511 had taken place during Duarte's residence on the Malabar coast, captured Malays were likely to have been brought to the Portuguese factories in Malabar.

Dames was misled by the Portuguese text. Duarte had honestly said he could not identify the drugs.

A XVIIIth CENTURY MALAY CANNON IN LONDON

By C. O. BLAGDEN, M.A., D.LITT.

In the garden of Chelsea Hospital there are several cannons. captured by the British Army in various campaigns. By invitation of the authorities, I was privileged some years ago to inspect one of these guns, which had been taken in the third Burma war. It is of brass and bears on its upper surface, from the muzzle to the breach, eleven inscriptions. Nine of these are beautifully inlaid in silver lettering in the Arabic character, and appear to be coeval with the gun itself : three of them are in Arabic, and the rest in Malay.

Beginning at the muzzle of the gun, the inlaid inscriptions are in the following order : (1) Arabic, (2) Malay, (3) Arabic, (4) Malay, (5) Arabic, (6-8) Malay, (9) Arabic and Malay. No. 5 is inscribed within a silver inlaid circular ornamental design, the lettering (in seven lines) running transversely across the axis of the gun. No. 9 is transversely across the top of the breech. The rest of the inscriptions run along the direction of the axis of the gun.

Besides the above, the following are merely engraved not inlaid :—

- (a) between 4 and 5

1 *bahara* 2 *pikul* 4 *kati*

- (b) between 6 and 7, in Burmese

TA-HTAUNG TA-YA HNIT-HSE SHIT-KHU
DWARAWATI THEIN YA

1128 year (=1766 A.D.) obtained at the conquest
of *Dwarawati* (= Siam).

One may note that in that year the Burmese invaded Siam and captured Ayuthia, the capital, in 1767.

- No. 1. The first Arabic inscription runs

Ya dha'l-liwa wal-'alam
Ya dha'l-jud wan-ni'am
Ya dha'l-fadl wal-karam
Ya dha'l-ba's wan-niqam

“ O Thou master of banner and flag !

O Thou master of bounty and favour !

O Thou master of grace and beneficence !

O Thou master of power and vengeance ! ”

(Under those banners and flags the good and faithful assemble. Grace is shown to believers and the vengeance of the omnipotent to evil-doers).

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XIX, Part I,

No. 2. runs—

*Hadzrat Ahmad 'Arabi nasab
Akan Tuhan dzat-nya 'ajab
Dëngan bahasa ia 'clmu dan adab
Maka katakan dëngan bahasa 'Arab.*

“ The lord Ahmad, an Arab by descent, to God whose essence is wondrous, with courtesy knowledge and manners says in the Arabic language.”

No. 3. runs—

*Ya man Ghafur wa Ghaffar !
Ya man Shakur wa Sattar !
Wahshurna ma'al-abrar !
Subhanaha'llah ! Allahu Akbar.*

“ O Thou the forgiver and pardoner !
O Thou the bountiful and concealer of faults !
Call us up from the tomb with the virtuous !
Praise be to God ! God is great.”

(The third line refers to the day of judgment).

No. 4. reads—

*Mëriam di-përbuat ada-lah sudah.
—Mënguchap shukur ka-hadzat Allah !—
Jadi 'kan tanda mëninggalkan manah
Akan mëmbunoh kafir 'alaihi'l-la'anah.*

“ Here is the cannon made and finished. Thanks be to Allah ! May it be for a sign and abide as a gift for slaying unbelievers,—a curse upon them !”

For mëninggalkan one might read mënanggalkan “ dropping.”

No. 5. reads—

*'alamatu Sahib as-Sultan Sulaiman Shah Malik
al-Muzaffar ism laqabi fi hijrat thalathin wa situna
wa alf fi sanat al-alif wa arba'yaum minshahr.
Dhu'l-qa'dah fi yaumi-l-ithnayn.*

“ The seal of Sultan Sulaiman Shah the Victorious King his title. Monday 4 Dhu'l-qa'dah A.H. 1063 (26 September, 1653).”

There was a Sultan Sulaiman of Kedah, son of a Sultan Muzaffar, but he died apparently in 1625 after being carried a prisoner to Acheh. This ruler must for the present remain unidentified.

No. 6. reads—

*Ingat-ingat engkau, hai anak dagang !
Ka-tanah juga kita 'kan pulang.
Tuntut oleh-mu ghazi berparang ;
Janji Tuhan ka-janat datang.*

" Remember well, stranger ! To earth we shall return Pursue victory in battle. God's pledge is that you enter paradise."

No. 7. reads—

*Dar as-salam janat juga,
Janat tempat rahmat juga,
Pěnoh dęngan ne'emat juga,
Dudok bękal dęngan suka juga.*

" Yes ! paradise is the abode of peace. Yes ! paradise is the place of mercy. And it is full of delights and one dwells in bliss everlasting."

No. 8 is less certain owing to the letters not being so clear. It appears to read—

*Daulat, tuanku, sa-bagai datang
Sapěrti sěbak ayer yang pasang,
Bi-taufik Alluh rabb al-'alam
Dari nur ul-'ain tatkala-nya pulang.*

Jahat bębal hamba lat (ل) han

*Bęrbuat męriam di-hadzirkan
Akan kafir sharik dzalim ka-nuraka jahanam
Akan di-pandang sahabat męninggalkan zaman.*

" May luck attend your highness in a flood, by the guidance of God, Lord of the universe, when (? it, the bullet) goes home like a flash of the eye. My errors and stupidity are open to correction in making a cannon to assemble in hell the cruel infidels with their idols, a cannon my friends may look at as epoch-making."

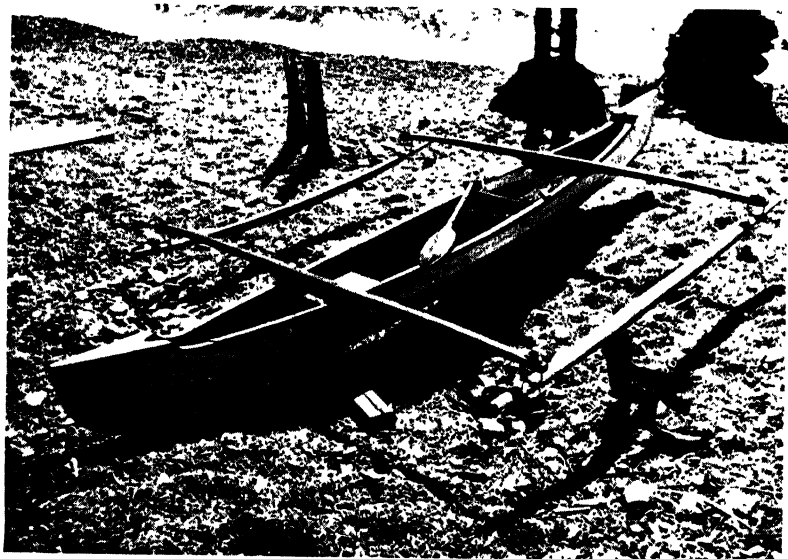
No. 9. reads—

*Wa nagash Tun Juma'at Abu Męndus, Singgora
bėnua-nya.*

" And the engraver was Tun Juma'at Abu Mendus,
his country Singgora (سڠگور)

I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Stewart, C.I.E., M.C., LL.D., Reader in Burmese and to Mr. J. Heyworth-Dunne, D.Lit., Reader in Arabic, in the University of London, for help with the Burmese inscription and with the Arabic inscriptions respectively.

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One-man Koleh, Christmas Island.

A NOTE ON THE CHRISTMAS ISLAND CANOE (KOLEK)

By Dr. C. A. GIBSON-HILL.

Plate¹I.

Until 1888 Christmas Island was uninhabited. Then in November of that year Andrew Clunies Ross and a group of Cocos-Malays established themselves on the north coast, on the shore of what is now known as Flying Fish Cove. A small area was cleared, houses built, and coconut palms, papayas, bananas, coffee and later chillies, sugar-cane and tobacco, were planted. Some nine years later the lease of the island was taken over by a company formed to work the rich phosphate deposits on the inland plateau. Under their management the original settlers were replaced by a colony of mixed Javanese Malays, while a number of Chinese coolies were introduced to work in the quarries. After a time, by a gradual infiltration, the majority of the former were themselves replaced by Boanese; and Amboynese, from two small islands near Ceram, in the Moluccas, and these latter people now comprise the greater part of the Malay population.

Faced with a number of difficulties the earliest inhabitants seem to have done little boat building on Christmas Island. Instead they relied on their own carvel-built craft which they brought with them from Cocos. Their troubles included the absence of a timber which was both durable and easy to obtain and work, and the difficulties of designing a boat which could be lifted up the steep shingle beach and was at the same time sufficiently stable in the open sea. Christmas Island, lying in deep water nearly two hundred miles from the nearest land, has no permanently safe anchorage and only relatively sheltered fishing-grounds.

Their successors, the Javanese Malays, tried a light, flat, one-man canoe of galvanised iron sheeting, moulded over simple ribs made from the pillar-roots of the local banyan, *Ficus religiosa*, Linn¹. These boats, which lay low in the water, were steadied by long rollers of wood fastened along the water-line. There was no seat, the occupant sitting straight on the bottom. They were fairly fast, and could easily be hauled up the beach at night by a single man. Their disadvantage lay in that they would not take much sea, and if they once filled or overturned they sank rapidly.

The present pattern appeared about twenty years ago. It was first used by an Amboynese, Hassan bin Ali, in a slightly

¹Andrews (Monograph Christmas Island, 1900, p. 189) records the native name of this as Waringin, but the present generation is more correct and refers to it as Jawi jawi or Beringin. *Gyrocarpus americanus*, auctt., which was known as Buah ba-siap in Andrews' day is now called Lamkun or Lumkun. *Berria ammonilla*, Roxb., has dropped from Boognor to Kayu bunga, and is confused with *Calophyllum* whose wood is used locally for axe-handles, chungkuls and buffer-blocks.

cruder, rougher form. Shortly afterwards it was perfected by another Amboynese, Salleh bin Omadin, whose boats are still among the best examples on the island. In essence these are shallow-draught, dug-out canoes of good, clean lines, steadied by a double outrigger. They are fairly slow, but very stable and never likely to be upset by anyone of reasonable balance. There are now some twenty-five of these koleks in constant use and, apart from a motor-driven sampan recently brought to the island, they are the only type of boat employed by the Malays for fishing.

They are built in approximately three sizes, for one, two or three men, the first for solitary fishing along the edge of the fringing reef and in Flying Fish Cove, and the second and third for trolling out at sea. Some of the largest boats will take four men, and can be worked by two, but general purpose boats are unsatisfactory as the floats are adjusted and fixed to suit a definite displacement. A kolek which is underladen is therefore unsteady, while one which is overladen is heavy and dead in the water. The measurements for a boat of good lines are roughly,

	<i>One-man.</i>	<i>Two-men.</i>	<i>Three-men.</i>
Length overall ..	160-175"	210-220"	240"
Beam	20"	22"	24"
Depth at the mid-point	12"	13"	14"
Span of the outriggers	95-100"	108-112"	120"
Length of the floats.	85-95"	95-110"	100-115"

The free-board is about six inches when lightly laden, dropping to four and a half or five with a good catch on board.

The body of the boat is cut and trimmed free-hand with an axe from the trunk of a *Gyrocarpus americanus*, auctt., a common tree all along the shore terrace. The interior is hollowed out afterwards with an adze. The greater part of this work is done at the site where the tree has been felled. *Gyrocarpus* wood is easy to work, but it is soft and frequently found to have decayed at the core: Bad patches are cut out when the kolek is built, and the holes plugged with better wood and pitch. Unless this is done carefully the dead area is likely to spread rapidly. Even then the wood is very prone to rot, especially on the bottom where it is constantly rubbed and bumped in landing. These latter holes are occasionally temporarily repaired with pieces of galvanised iron sheeting packed on the inside with sacking. The normal life of a boat, with fair treatment, is three to five years, but some of the smaller koleks are abandoned as useless after two. A large boat may receive more attention, and a good, successful one be kept in use for eight to ten years by judicious patching.

The floats are made of the same wood as the body. The outrigger-arms and the rim are generally of seraya or chëngai, taken from the company's stores, but they may be of the island red-wood, *Berria ammonilla*, Roxb. The latter is the most popular wood for the paddles but, if obtainable, chëngai is often used instead. Good paddles are worth about \$1.20 to \$1.50 each. A one-man boat, newly built, fetches between \$18 and \$20, while larger models cost up to \$25. There is not, however, much trade in koleks as the majority of the men cut their own.

Open-sea trolling is usually the work of two or three men in a larger boat. In suitable weather they may range the whole length of the north coast, and even pass round on the lee side of the island beyond Egeria Point, staying out all night. Conditions are considered to be best when the sea is calm or has only a slight swell on it, and the wind is not above a Gentle Breeze on the Beaufort scale. Two sizes of hook and line may be used, together with a spinner of white cock's feathers. The larger, a No. 2, is generally drawn on about a hundred and fifty dëpa of line. With this they reckon to catch, by day, from dawn to sunset, with the best period shortly after sunrise,

Tënggiri, ²	..	..	<i>Cybium</i> sp., probably <i>Cybium guttatum</i> , up to a length of 6-6½ feet.
Tongkol	..	..	<i>Thynnus</i> sp., with red flesh, probably <i>Thynnus thunnina</i> .
Ikan layar	..	..	<i>Histiophorus gladius</i> , occasionally.
Lomadang	..	..	A scarce, unidentified fish which has not been taken for the last six years and is said to be very good eating.
by night, only,			
Ikan merah bësai	..	..	<i>Lutianus</i> sp., up to eight to ten katis in weight.
and by day or night,			
Alo alo	..	..	<i>Sphyræna</i> sp., up to four feet long and twenty-one katis weight.
Kachang	..	..	<i>Sphyræna</i> sp., young forms or a smaller species, up to twenty inches in length.
Aroan tasek	..	..	<i>Elacate nigra</i> .

²I give the spellings, unaltered, as accepted by Ismail bin Hadji Eusop, probably the best fisherman on the island, who supplied me with much of the information which follows.

Ikan puteh lebar kelabu, or Kembong ³	<i>Caranx</i> sp.
Ikan puteh lebar hitam, or Lambudok	<i>Caranx</i> sp., which is good eating.
Ikan puteh lebar panjang, or Sagai	<i>Caranx</i> sp., which is very good eating.

Of all these fish, probably the *tenggiri* are the most profitable, a fair specimen weighing 30-35 katis and selling, when cut in chunks, for \$6 to \$8, but the flesh is a shade dry and it is best curried. The *Sphyræna* are generally caught by slackening the speed of the boat a little so that the spinner drops about three to four feet below the surface of the water. With a smaller, No. 19, hook and a shorter length of line they reckon to catch, by day only, from dawn to sunset,

Ikan bēchok ..	<i>Pseudodax</i> sp., probably <i>Pseudodax moluccanus</i> .
Ikan kērapu kēlentang	<i>Serranidae</i> sp.
Ikan kērapu bunga	<i>Serranidae</i> sp.
Ikan janggut ..	unidentified fish comprising at least three species.

by night only,

Ikan merah mata	<i>Lutianus</i> sp.
Ikan sēpat ..	<i>Lobotes surinamensis</i> .
Ikan batek ..	an unidentified fish which I have not been able to see.

and by day or night,

Ikan kērapu chēchak .	<i>Serranidae</i> sp., which is very tasty.
Koko puteh ⁴ ..	<i>Stromateus cinereus</i> .
Salman karang ..	an unidentified, purplish fish up to one and a half katis in weight, which is very good when fried (? <i>Serranid</i>).
Samon or Salman .	<i>Elagatus hipinnulatus</i> , a mackerel-like fish, weighing up to two and a half to three katis.

Any of these fish, when sold outside the kampong, fetch twenty-five to thirty cents a kati, irrespective of their quality.

The alternative technique of line fishing is with a baited hook dropped down through the water. Usually this method is employed with a one-man, or occasionally two-men, kolek working

³The alternative names for the three species of *Caranx* are not in common use on the island, and were only obtained after much enquiry. They are generally all lumped together under the inclusive title of Ikan puteh.

⁴The word Bawal seems to be unknown.

along the deeper water, a short distance off the edge of the fringing reef, in Flying Fish Cove itself. It may also be used when a larger boat is waiting out all night for the dawn trolling, one or two men fishing while the others sleep. A calm or gentle sea with a little wind is thought to offer the optimum conditions, and the best bait is a quarter of a small fish. By this means they reckon to catch, working by night only, and using a No. 8, medium-sized, hook and a small weight,

- Ikan merah b sar .. *Lutianus* sp., at a depth of about fifteen d pa.
 Ikan merah mata b sar .. *Lutianus* sp., at a depth of five to ten d pa.
 Ikan merah s ngat .. *Lutianus* sp., at a depth of six to seven d pa.

working by night only, and using a No. 8 or No. 19 hook and no weight,

- S pat *Lobotes surinamensis*, at a depth of four to ten d pa.
 Koko l ndir *Stromateus* sp.
 Alo alo and Kachang .. *Sphyr na* sp.
 Laur and Ikan batek .. unidentified fish, both occurring at a depth of five to twenty d pa.

working by day only, and usually with the smaller hook,

- Ikan babi *Balistes* sp., two species.

and working by day or night, with the medium-sized hook,

- Ikan Lim cham *Lethrinus* sp., probably *Lethrinus nebulosus*, which is good eating.

- Seriding *Equula edentula*.

and seven species of *Serranidae*.

- K rapu chechak Olive green, covered almost entirely with dull red spots : a very greedy fish with a good flavour.

From a depth of 6 d pa.

- K rapu bunga Body red, with a white streak on the tail. 6 d pa.

- K rapu bintang Red with small blue spots over the back and sides.

15-20 d pa.

- K rapu lonak Red with orange-red spots over back and sides. Good eating, but rather rare. 15-20 d pa.

- K rapu nyunya Brownish-yellow, with a golden yellow belly. 30-40 d pa.

- K rapu merah Red, paler on the belly, with a green-grey speck on each scale. 80-100 d pa.

Ikan merah sēngat is armed with small spines round the gill and behind the anus, and can inflict a painful wound. Sēpat, *Lobotes surinamensis*, is attracted by light and a lantern is usually fastened on the side of the boat when fishing for it. Ikan babi, which is a little coarse though much eaten fried, is not easily caught from a kolek and is mostly taken by the chinese coolies fishing from the cliff-top in the neighbourhood of the end of a sewer. It sells for five cents a small fish, and eight cents a large one.

Ikan terbang ⁵	..	..	<i>Exocoetus</i> sp., up to ten to twelve inches long.
Ikan todak	..	..	<i>Belone</i> sp.

If, during the period of north-westerly and northerly winds in the first four months of the year, there is a prolonged stretch of bad weather in Flying Fish Cove, a few of the boats are carried overland, a distance of about six miles, to a small beach on the east coast which is then sheltered. When the wind swings irregularly this manoeuvre is useless, and some of the Malays then resort to a Jala. These are cast from the shore, preferably at low tide, into the broad patch of shallow water lying on the fringing reef. The catch is variable, but the possibilities include *Ikan merah mata bĕsar* (*Lutianus* sp.), *Ikan debam* (*Siganus java*), *Ikan bĕlanak* (*Mugil* sp.), *Ikan kurau kechil* and several species described as *Ikan janggut* or *Ikan karang*.

⁶ These fish may also be taken with a rod and line, the bait being cast into a shallow pool as the waves break over it.

MALAY FISHERMEN'S SUPERSTITIONS

By ISHAK BIN AHMAD.

(*Senior Fishery Officer, Fisheries Dept., S.S. and F.M.S.*).

It is known that most fishermen all the world over are very conservative in their ways and superstitious in their beliefs. The fishermen of Malaya, the Malay fishermen in particular, are no exception to this rule. They believe very seriously and solemnly that their luck and personal safety lie mainly in the hands of the guardians or gods if you like, of the sea. If they should be enraged or displeased through a misbehaviour, carelessness or omission of one of the crews employed in a fishing boat in not observing the rules of "Don'ts" which are laid down by the "Pawang" (head fisherman of great experience who is supposed to be acquainted with sea spirits) it is within the power of the gods to inflict injuries and bring sickness on them. Even the storms and the weather are attributed to be the result of one of their acts when enraged.

Therefore it is of extreme importance that they should be befriended, respected and well fed once a year. Occasionally, therefore, offerings in the shape of food and drink, not a plain drink alone, but an alcoholic one as well, must be made by the Pawang or the headman.

The writer had been fortunate in having been able to be present at an offering ceremony and to have gained first hand knowledge of its proceedings. On this occasion the fishermen who performed the ceremony were Malays from the village of Kuala Linggi in Malacca who came to settle at Pulau Ketam temporarily during the fishing season for "kelongs" (fishing stakes). Pulau Ketam is an island covered with mangrove forest situated to the north west of Port Swettenham. The fishing season occurs annually during the period of the north east monsoon, that is to say, from November to March the following year. When these men arrive at Pulau Ketam, they first cut poles from the surrounding mangrove forest to build their temporary houses for themselves. Then they cut or buy mangrove poles and erect their fishing stakes and after they have started fishing operation the "Pawang" chooses an appropriate day for performing an offering ceremony.

It was on the 14th January, 1936 that this ceremony was performed. The place where this took place was the uncovered front verandah of the "Pawang's" house whose floor consisted simply of unsawn mangrove poles raised from the muddy ground below by means of similar poles on the bank of the Pulau Ketam river above high water mark.

A full grown male goat is purchased from the mainland and brought over the previous day or days to serve as the most important item in the offering. The ceremony is performed on the verandah entirely by men whilst the womenfolk busy themselves and remain in the house with cooking and preparing the various items of food and articles for the decoration of the offering, since no details must be omitted lest the gods be displeased and refuse to accept it. A tray is first brought out from the house. This contains the following articles :—

A bowl of "tepong tawar" (a paste of uncooked rice flour)

A handful of "bras kunyit" (rice coloured yellow with turmeric)

A handful of "berteh" (swollen rice roasted whilst in husk)

Kemenyan (Benzoin)

A bottle of arrack

A bunch of leaves comprising leaves of Ati-ati (*Coleus amboinicus*) and Rumput Sambau (*Elusine indica*) is enclosed in a large leaf called Daun Sepuleh Dudok (*Eucharis grandiflora*) and tied or lashed together by means of a creeper, Daun Riburibu (*Lygodium circinatum*).

Next the male goat is led out of the house on to the verandah. He is then bathed and beautifully dressed up. The "Pawang" in his Malay dress squats in front of the tray, sprinkles small pieces of benzoin into a cinder box with cinders already placed there and utters some words not audible to those sitting around him. He then takes three pinches each of berteh, bras kunyit and bras basoh from the tray and throws them on the goat's head. Then he holds the bunch of leaves with his left hand, dips it in fresh water and puts it into the tepong tawar. The leaves are then held over the smoke which comes out from the cinder box. Then he stirs the tepong tawar with the stem of the leaves. At the same time he utters some words beginning with the word "Bismillah" but all his other words are inaudible. Then a few drops of arrack are rubbed on the goat's head, then tepong tawar is sprinkled from the head along the back and ending at his tail.

Then the goat is killed in accordance with Islamic rites that is to say that he is made to lie on his side with his face facing towards sunset *i.e.* in the direction of Mecca. His neck is then slashed with a sharp knife which half severs it. As the blood spurts out it drains into a cup (on this occasion an enamelled container from a tiffin carrier is used). The goat is divided up and two square

shallow rattan baskets which are specially made for the purpose of this offering are now required ; one to hold the head of goat, his four feet, skin, intestine and a cup of his blood and the other to hold the tepong tawar, berteh, bras kunyit, bras basoh, blodok (*Gobius sp.*) temelok (marine wood borer), small crabs, siput timba (a kind of shell fish), a bunch of leaves, a bottle of arrack, 14 fresh and 14 boiled hens' eggs, some "wajib" (sweetened cooked glutinous rice), "ketupat" (cooked glutinous rice wrapped in "palas" leaves (*Licuala sp.*), buah Malacca (literally Malacca fruit, small balls of steamed glutinous rice flour containing brown sugar in liquid form, the balls being coated with scraped or minced coconut meat) "lepat" (cake made with glutinous rice flour, coconut meat, sugar and either tapioca or banana wrapped in banana leaves), "koy kochi" (a cake made again with glutinous rice flour with minced and sugared coconut meat inside, shaped like a pyramid and wrapped in banana leaves), "epok epok" (curry puffs), kekoleh (a cake made of rice flour, sugar and coconut milk), dodokok (a cake made with glutinous rice flour with minced and sugared coconut meat inside and wrapped in banana leaves) koy rampai (assorted cakes); nasi merah (red rice); nasi hitam (black rice); nasi kuning (yellow rice); nasi biru (blue rice); nasi puteh (white or plain rice); goat's meat; tail of the goat; both of his testes; a piece of his heart, liver and lungs; a bottle of arrack; a sugar cane; a little juice of sugar cane; a small amount of syrup; a small amount of tapioca root; a small amount of yam root; fourteen bananas (Pisang Raja) boiled and fourteen raw; rokok (cigarettes made from tender leaves of nipah palm); rokok (cigarettes made from banana, pisang raja, leaves); twenty eight white candles; two and half yards of white cloth; and a roll of fifty copper coins in each basket (one basket is for shore and the other for sea offering).

The baskets referred to above, used for the offering are special ones and they are called Anchak.

Seven pieces of cooked and an equal number of uncooked goat's meat are placed in each Anchak.

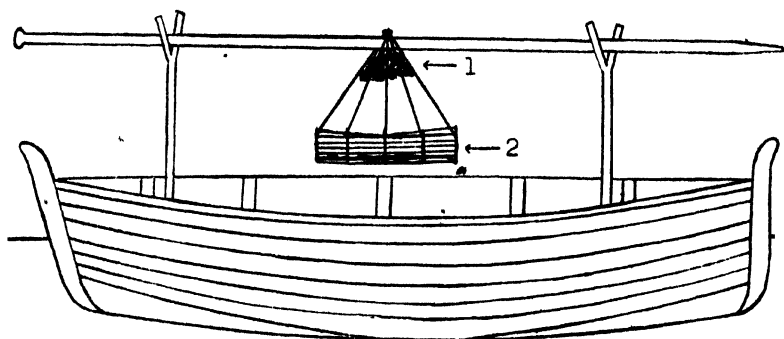
The head of goat hung in the Anchak is intended as a sea offering. The four feet of the goat are intended as a shore offering.

The feet are considered appropriate for the shore offering since they are created for the purpose of walking.

Except the head which cannot be divided, a piece of each of the goat's various parts is placed in each Anchak viz. one of his testes, half of his tail, and half of his penis.

These Anchaks with the various articles of offering in them are elaborately decorated with golden coloured young
1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

coconut shoots. When all the essential items for the offerings are complete, the Anchak which is intended for the sea is taken on board a boat called Naday and suspended from its mast which has been unshipped and placed horizontally above and along the length of the said vessel thus :—



1. Goat's head.

2. Anchak.

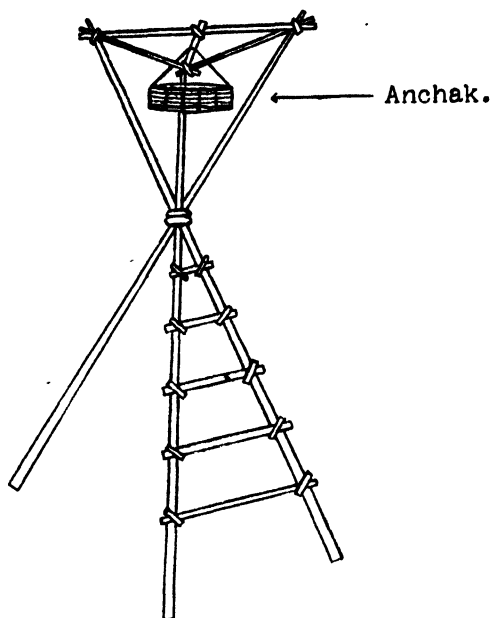
Above the Anchak the head of the goat which is wrapped in white cloth is hung conspicuously. The various articles of food are spread evenly in shallow baskets which are placed in the Anchak. Articles in liquid form like the arrack, the cold water, the juice of sugar cane, the syrup and the blood of goat are put in small cups all of which are made from leaves. The eggs, the goat's meat, the fruits, the cakes and other things are distributed more or less evenly while the fourteen white candles are planted on top of the numerous foods, in the shallow baskets, in pairs, four pairs being in the middle row, two pairs on one side and the last pair on the other side. They are all lighted.

The Anchak is decorated with streamers of young coconut leaves hanging at the bottom and with miniature baskets also made from young coconut leaves which are fastened and arranged beautifully on and above the baskets thus giving the whole thing a light yellow appearance.

All persons on board the boat keep complete silence in order to observe the holiness and solemnness of the occasion. When the boat with four men rowing on each side starts for the mouth of the river where the offering is to be made, a man sitting beside the "Pawang" at the stern, throws into the water, all along the way, the mixture of cut skins of goat, berteh and padi husks, whilst the

"Pawang" with a bottle in his hand, sprinkles drops of arrack into the water as the boat moves. The object of this is to feed the children and grandchildren of the sea spirits who may happen to be there at the time, otherwise there might be aroused ill feeling among these children and grandchildren who are capable, at any time, of causing illness or injuries to members of the fishing community.

A little beyond the mouth of the river is the place selected for making the offerings and already in waiting there is a tripod of mangrove poles carrying a short horizontal beam of similar material from which can be suspended the Anchak as shown in the sketch below :—



The Anchak is taken there by one of the crew and hung from the beam. While the boat is being rowed out the lighted candles are extinguished by the sea breeze but on arrival at the structure they are lighted again. The "Pawang" then ascends the ladder built on one of the legs, reaches the Anchak and undoes the white cloth from the goat's head. He then takes it in his right hand and waves it, first on his front, then on his right and finally on his left and at the same time calls out "O Dato'. O'Dato' O'Dato'. O'Dato' Panglima yang menjaga laut, telok, rantau, 1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

tanjong, beting dan kuala. Mari-lah berhimpun di-balai ini. Ini persembahan tujuh pawang kelong di-dini. Mari-lah tua, muda, kechil, besar ; yang buta perimpin, yang patah bertongkat. Minta' tolong bela-kan sekalian anak kelong jangan sakit pening ". This translated, is " O' Warrior Lord of the sea, bays, rivers reaches, capes, shallows and estuaries. Come to this hall. These are the presents of seven " Pawangs " of fishing stakes of this place. Come old, come young, come small, come big, those who are blind be led, those who are lame be supported by a stick. We pray for your help to guard us, crews of fishing stakes, from sickness and headache.

Thus ends the address of the " Pawang " to the sea gods. The principal gods are the four Dato' yang memegang ampat penjuru alam ini (four gods who control the four corners of the earth. They are Tok Petala Guru, Tok Gemala Hakim, Si Ouk and Si Kedah.

At the conclusion of the address the roll of 50 cents copper coin is taken back by the " Pawang." This concludes the ceremony. The men then return home encouraged and full of hope for the future.

" Laud to the Lord who gives to this, to that denies his wishes,

" And dooms one toil and catch the prey, another eat the fishes "

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A Descriptive Catalogue of the Books relating to Malaysia
in the Raffles Museum & Library, Singapore, *compiled*
by *Padma Daniel* (Library Assistant, Raffles Library).

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A
DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE
OF THE
BOOKS RELATING
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SINGAPORE

DECEMBER, 1941

Compiled by
PADMA DANIEL
(LIBRARY ASSISTANT)

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A MALAYSIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY.

PREFACE.

The following is a list, with appropriate bibliographical details, of the works relating to "Malaysia" in the Raffles Museum and Library. It includes journals of Malaysian origin and function but excludes routine Government, Legal and Medical publications, ephemeral publications, newspapers and magazines. Most of the books are located in the now well-known Q-Room at the Raffles Library, but certain books rarely used by the public are, on grounds of departmental expediency, housed elsewhere in the building.

Although many rare and expensive works are still unrepresented, the collection of books relating to this area in the Raffles Library is now reasonably complete for the Malaysian countries under British influence; it is less complete, especially as regards publications in the Dutch language, but nevertheless usefully suggestive, for the Netherlands East Indies.

Malay translations of modern European works, whether in the Roman or Arabic scripts have been excluded, as have all manuscripts etc. A catalogue of the maps up to 1879 has already been published by Mr. J. V. G. Mills.

Malaysia is here accepted as a sub-region of the Oriental Region. It includes all land on the Sunda Shelf and can be defined briefly as the Malay Peninsula south of Lat. 10°N., Sumatra, Borneo, Java and all the adjacent small islands. It excludes the Philippines, Celebes, Moluccas, etc., and all the other territories east of Wallace's Line, and also the Andamans and Nicobars.

No reasonably complete bibliography of Malaysian books has yet appeared, and maybe this preliminary effort can be regarded as the basis for such a work which, if it is to include all the Dutch publications, will ultimately reach immense proportions. Mr. J. H. M. Robson, C.B.E., has published some very useful lists of Malayan (*sens. str.*) books. Some fragmentary lists from other sources have also been published. A most useful work of reference is the *Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek*, 1908.

An ideal bibliography of the region would include notice of the contents of the relevant periodicals, but for the moment this is not attempted, although certain important papers are noticed.

For instance, Sir Richard Winstedt's *History of Malaya*, although originally published as a paper in the Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, also has its own place on the library shelves, and therefore in this catalogue, as an entity.

It will be noticed that some books of fiction are also included here, for a reasonable view is that they often reflect the contemporary life of the country forming the background of the novel ; they are therefore of historical interest and significance.

Scientific books are only included if the greater part of their contents is devoted to Malaysian subjects. On any other basis of classification almost every monographic work of a biological nature, would demand inclusion.

P. D.

SINGAPORE,

1st June, 1941

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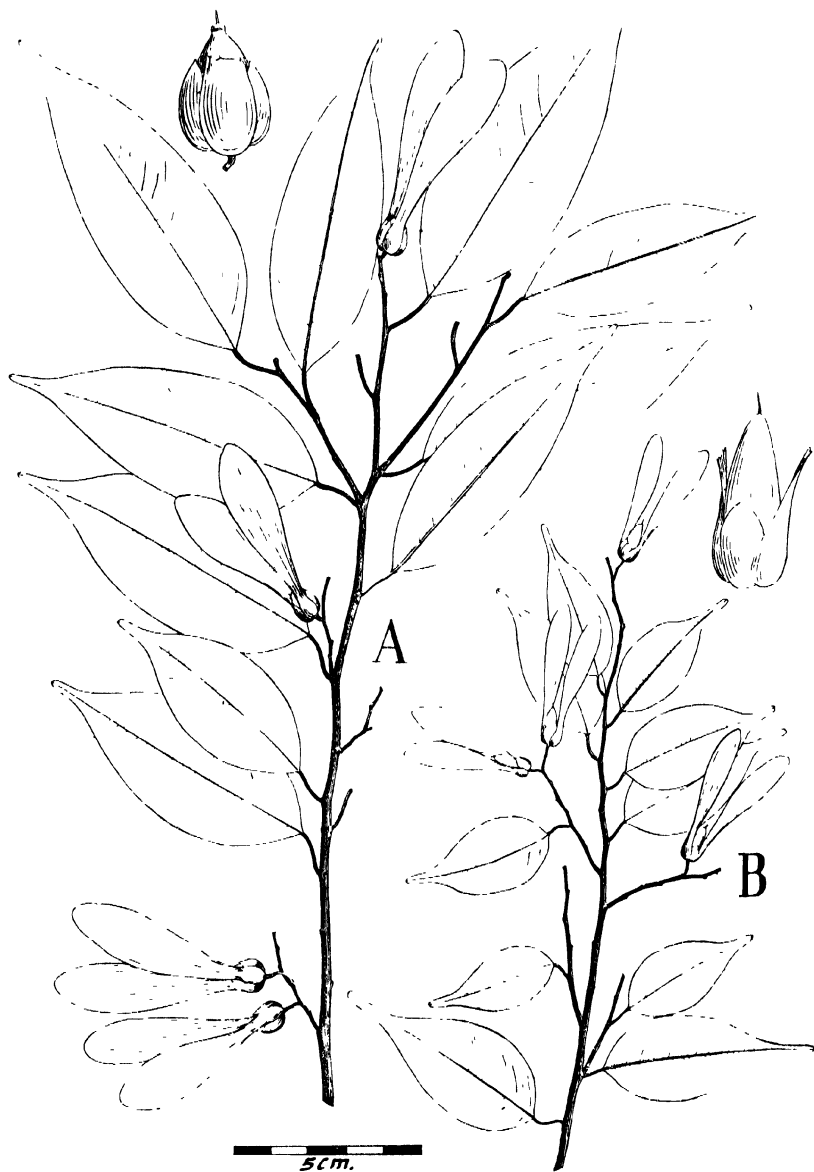


Plate 1. A, *HOPEA MONTANA* Sym B, *HOPFIA JOHORENSIS* Sym.

NOTES ON MALAYAN DIPTEROCARPACEAE, VI.

by C. F. SYMINGTON,

Forest Research Institute, Kepong.

(Plates I — VII)

This paper continues the series which has been published in the *Gardens' Bulletin, Straits Settlements*¹. Owing to war restrictions this paper could not be published in the same journal but the editor of the Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society has kindly allowed me to publish it here.

The paper contains descriptions of seven new dipterocarps (six *Hopea*, one *Vatica*, and one *Shorea*) from the Malay Peninsula. There is also a discussion of the status and botanical circumscription of the *Barbata* group and three species of *Shorea*, and of six species of *Vatica* which have been confused in previous publications. I am anxious to obtain prior publication of these notes in explanation of the nomenclature I am adopting in a semi-botanical work shortly going to press. I have also described in this paper the Bornean species *Shorea pachyphylla* which has attracted attention as one of the more abundant timber trees in the vicinity of the Seriah oilfields.

I should like to refer to the distribution of duplicate herbarium material of the species discussed in this and previous papers in the series. We have discontinued regular distribution of duplicates from the Forest Research Institute, Kepong, for some years, but the importance of this service has not been overlooked. All our duplicates are being arranged systematically, and distribution will be continued on a rational plan as soon as this arrangement is complete and war conditions permit.

It gives me pleasure, once more, to express my appreciation of the continued co-operation I have enjoyed from numerous botanists and forest officers.

These notes are arranged as in my previous papers, the concluding paragraph under each heading being a brief précis for the benefit of Malayan forest officers.

***Hopea johorensis* Symington, sp. nov. Plate 1b.**

H. Vesquei Heim similis sed partibus juvenalibus minus tomentosis, stylo longiore, ovario haud stylopodio, satis distincta.

¹ For previous papers see *Gard. Bull. S.S.* Vol. VII, pp. 129-159 (1933), Vol. VIII, pp. 1-40 (1934) and 265-292 (1935), Vol. IX, pp. 319-354 (1938), and Vol. X, pp. 336-386 (1939).

Branchlets slender, minutely scurfy-puberulous towards the tips, drying dark in colour. *Leaves* ovate-acuminate, (acumen about 1.0—1.5 cm. long, slightly broadened and rounded at the tip), usually slightly unequal and rounded, acute, or subcuneate at the base, from about 3.0 x 1.5 cm. to 7.0 x 3.25 cm. (average about 5.5. x 2.25 cm.), glabrous on both surfaces except for domatia, minutely scurfous on the lower (only visible under high magnification), usually drying yellow-brown on the lower surface and a darker shade of olive or reddish-brown on the upper; midrib slightly elevate on both surfaces; main nerves about 20 pairs separated by hardly less prominent intermediate nerves, usually invisible on the upper surface, visible but hardly elevate on the lower surface; tufted hairy domatia usually present at the insertion of the petiole and frequently in the axils of 2 or 3 of the main nerves; petioles about 0.7 cm. long on an average leaf, subterete, scurfy-puberulous. *Panicles* terminal or axillary towards the ends of the branchlets, less than 2.0 cm. long, puberulous; racemes solitary or paired, branchlets apparently under 1.0 cm. long and up to 4-flowered. *Flowers*¹ ovate in bud, about 4.0 mm. long including the pedicel; pedicel 1.5 mm. long, scurfy-puberulous. *Sepals* in two sets, the 2 outer ovate, rather thick; the 3 inner subrotundate, fimbriate at the apex, thinner. *Stamens* typical of the *Dryobalanoides* group; appendage about as long as the filament. *Ovary* ovate-conical tapering to an erect, cylindrical style. *Fruit* glabrous; stalk about 2.0 mm. long, slender; two outer sepals developed into wings, bases thick and woody, very narrow at the base of the wing but broadening to about 0.75 cm.; wings about 3.5 cm. long, chartaceous, 4 to 5-nerved; three inner sepals about 4.5 mm. long, broad and often apiculate at the apex, embracing the lower third of the nut; nut oblong-conical, about 9.0 mm. long, crowned by the thin, bent stylar remnant, striated and more or less covered by a resinous cement.

A collection with fragmentary fruits of this species was made by Foxworthy at Penyabong, Johore, in 1918, and cited by him under *Hopea intermedia* in *Malay. For. Rec.* 10: 135 (1932). The tree was not re-collected until 1939 when it was established that this is a common species in parts of eastern Johore.

In leaf *H. johorensis* is extremely like *H. Vesquei* Heim from Borneo, and I would be reluctant to describe it as a distinct species were it not for the differences in style and stylopodium. In *H. Vesquei* there is a thick, hairy stylopodium surmounted by a short style, similar to *H. Dyeri* Heim (*vide Gard. Bull. S.S.* 10: 353, plate 18), but in *H. johorensis* the ovary tapers to an erect, cylindrical style as in *H. micrantha* Hook. f. (*vide l. c.*, p. 355, plate 19). These differences are readily observable in the fruits.

¹ The floral description is incomplete because the only flower examined was a fragmentary one found on Forest Dept. F.M.S. 47085.

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

JOHORE : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 47085 (Type of *H. johorensis* Sym.); C. F. Symington; Compt. 11, Arong Forest Reserve, Johore; 4th March, 1939; fruits. Field notes—" Vern. name *merawan*; common; trees up to 5 ft girth, sharply buttressed, adventitious stilt roots present; bole rough, reddish, with exudations of *damar mata kuching*; cut inner bark light red-brown, sapwood with ripple marks, dry dead leaves very dark brown".

Also—Forest Dept. F.M.S. 1199, 35768, 47077, 47079, 49206, 49207, 49208, 49226, 49501, 49505.

The species here described as *Hopea johorensis* is a form of *merawan* producing *damar mata kuching* which has recently been discovered to be common in parts of eastern Johore. The preferred name, *mata kuching merah*, has been coined. Distinctive characters of the tree are the reddish-brown bole and the presence of ripple marks in the sapwood.

***Hopea montana* Symington, sp. nov. Plate 1a.**

H. Griffithii Kurz probabiliter affinis sed foliis lanceolatis, subtus siccitate griseo-bruneis differt. Flores ignoti.

Branchlets slender, drying dark purple-brown or grey, minutely puberulous on the young tips. *Leaves* lanceolate or ovate-lanceolate, caudate-acuminate at the apex, acute or cuneate at the base, from about 7.0 x 2.5 cm. to 11.0 x 4.5 cm., glabrous, drying dull yellow-brown or grey-green in colour on both surfaces; midrib slightly depressed on the upper surface, sharply elevate on the lower; main nerves about 12 pairs with 1 to 3 shorter intermediate nerves between each, usually invisible on the upper surface, faint and hardly elevate on the lower, reticulations invisible to the naked eye; petioles slender, 1.0—1.2 cm. long, channeled, minutely puberulous or glabrescent. *Panicles* axillary towards the ends of the branchlets, or terminal; racemes solitary or paired, usually less than 3.0 cm. in length, sparsely yellowish puberulous or glabrescent and drying dark in colour. *Flowers* unknown. *Fruits* glabrous; stalk about 2.0 mm. long, two outer accrescent sepals spatulate, blunt, up to about 4.5 x 1.7 cm. but usually rather less, woody at the base, chartaceous on the free portions, 9 to 11-nerved; three inner sepals subrotundate, blunt, embracing about two thirds of the nut (abnormally one or more may be developed into a rudimentary wing); nut ovate, crowned by the remains of a blunt stylopodium and short erect style, sparsely covered with a resinous cement, embraced on the lower half by the closely appressed, imbricate sepal bases.

This species has not previously appeared in the literature. It was first discovered in 1933 at elevations of about 3,000—4,000 ft on the slopes of Gunong Korbu in Perak. Ripe fruits were collected from a nearby locality in 1940 but flowers have not yet been obtained.

From vegetative, fruit, and field characters this species can confidently be placed in the *Bracteata* group of *Hopea* [vide Gard. Bull. S.S. 10: 338 (1939)].

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

PERAK : Forest Dept F.M.S. 32257 (Type of *H. montana* Sym) ; C F Symington, Gunong Korbu, Perak; about 4,000 ft; 23rd July, 1933; immature fruits Field notes—"Tree, 6 ft girth, poorly shaped, irregularly fissured and buttressed. Fruit wings green, turning bright red".

Also—Forest Dept. F.M.S. 31423, 31426, 32253.

KELANTAN : Forest Dept F.M.S. 51654 (eastern slopes of Gunong Korbu), 37601, 37666, and 37689 (Gunong Stong).

The species here described as *Hopea montana* is a form of *merawan* which has been found on Gunong Korbu and Gunong Stong at the limit of the dipterocarp forest zone. No other *merawan* has been discovered at such high elevations. The preferred name, *merawan gunong*, has been coined.

***Hopea glaucescens* Symington, sp. nov.** *Hopea* sp. nov., Sym. in *J. Mal. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.* 14: 348 (1936). **Plate 2.**

Species *H. nervosae* King foliis subsimilis sed bracteolis panicularum caducis, ovario stylopodioque dissimilibus distincta.

Branchlets marked with rather prominent leaf traces which are frequently decurrent for about 1.0 cm., pale, more or less clothed with a white waxy scurf towards the ends. *Leaves* oval to elliptic-lanceolate, caudate at the apex, rounded or acute, the margin tending to be revolute, at the base, very variable in size from about 8.0 x 3.0 cm. to 15.0 x 7.5 cm., glabrous and usually drying brown on the lower surface, clothed with a minute waxy scurf and usually drying a dull glaucescent green on the upper surface, midrib very slightly raised on the lower surface, as prominent on the upper, main nerves 13 to 16 pairs, usually with rather prominent short intermediate nerves between them, prominent on the lower surface, inconspicuous above; nervules very faint on the lower surface, invisible on the upper, petioles 1.0 to 1.6 cm. long, terete, sparsely scurfy-lepidote. *Panicles* axillary or terminal, glabrescent, racemes usually solitary, rarely paired in the leaf axils, about 3.0 cm. long, each with 4 to 8 branchlets; branchlets up to 1.5 cm. long, 4 to 9-flowered. *Flowers* secund, crowded (about 1.0 mm. apart), about 4.0 mm. long in mature bud; pedicel prominent, about 1.0 mm. long, glabrous. *Sepals* glabrescent but for a few marginal hairs, drying black, subequal in size; the two outer thick, glandular-papillose at the apex; the three inner acute or acuminate, thinner. *Petals* linear-oblong, fimbriate at the apex, sericeous on the portions exposed in bud, colour unknown. *Stamens* 15, arranged in 3 rows as in most

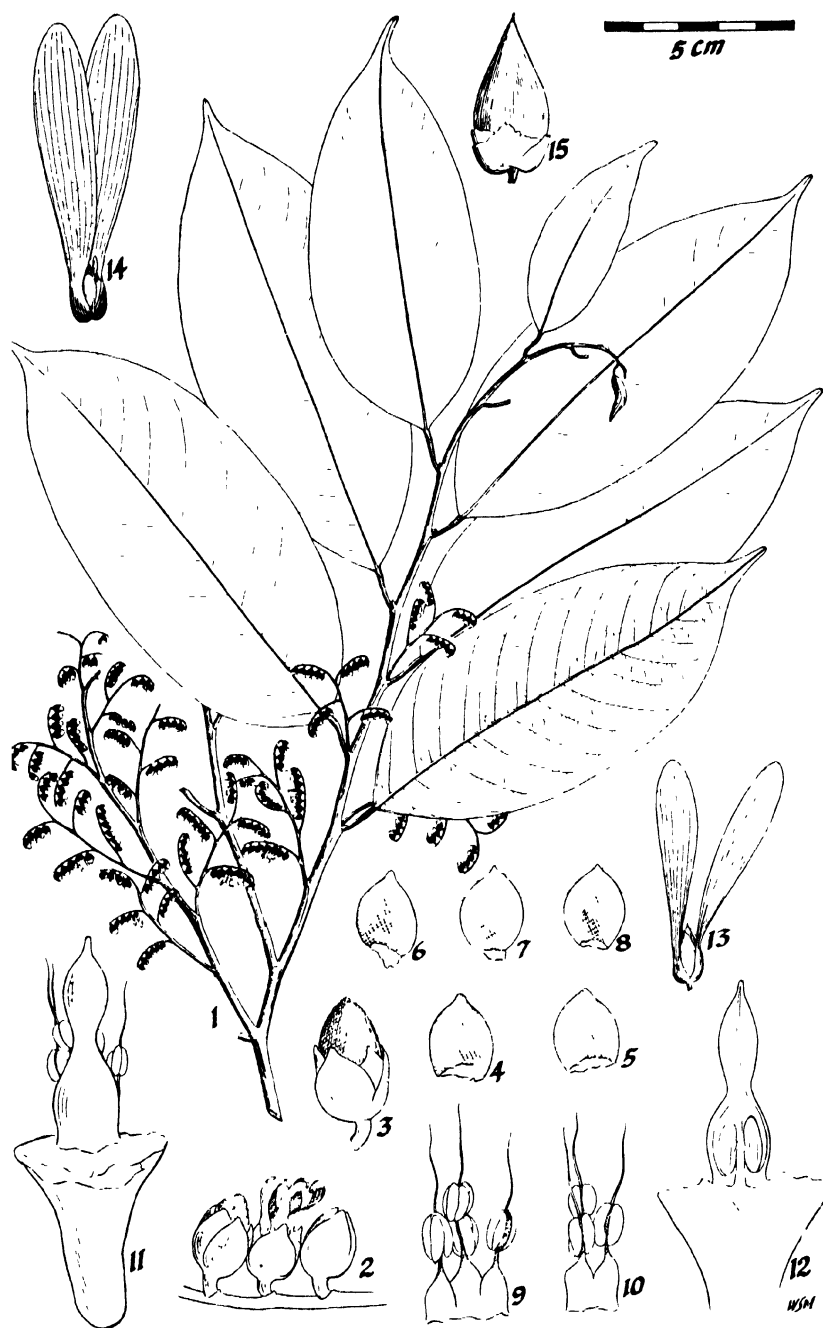


Plate 2. *HOPLA GLAUDESCENS* Sym.

species of *Hopea*; filaments narrowing abruptly about the middle of the filamentous upper portion; anthers 4-celled, cells subequal; appendage to connective filiform, rather longer than the filament and anther. *Ovary* and stylopodium shaped like an hour-glass as in the *Pierrea* group¹, the stylopodium glandular-punctate; style short, stigma minute. *Fruit* glabrous; stalk short but rather prominent; sepal bases thick and woody; two outer sepals linear-spathulate, blunt, about 6.0 x 1.2 cm, 8 to 10-nerved; three inner sepals closely embracing the nut, sometimes enlarged into rudimentary wings but usually shorter than the nut; nut ovate-conical, 1.0--1.5 cm. long, crowned by a short, stiff point, slightly resinous.

The earliest known collection of this species was made in Perak by the Rev. Father Scortechini, about fifty six years ago. A sheet of this collection, numbered 1929, is preserved in the herbarium of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun. Doubtless there is another in the herbarium of the Botanic Gardens, Calcutta, but I have not seen it. I am making the Dehra Dun sheet the type of this species because it is the only flowering collection from the Malay Peninsula.

Scortechini's specimen does not seem to have been cited in any botanical work, but a collection made by Yeop in north Johore (Forest Dept. F. M. S. 5911), in 1923, was cited by Foxworthy [*Malay. For. Rec.* 10 : 130 (1932)] under *Hopea nervosa* King. Of recent years several additional collections have been made from the Malay Peninsula. Most of these are sterile, or have fragmentary or immature fruits, but they are adequate to establish the existence of a distinct species.

The affinity of this species presents some difficulties. The venation of the leaf, particularly the short intermediate nerves, suggest the *Bracteata* group of *Hopea*², to which *H. nervosa* King belongs, but the bracts of the inflorescence are caducous, and the ovary and stylopodium are shaped like an hour-glass as in the *Pierrea* group.

There is a certain resemblance in leaf between *H. glaucescens* and *H. cernua* Teysm. et Binn., which has prompted King to note on the type sheet—" *Hopea* sp. n. near *cernua* ". They are readily distinguishable, however, by the stylopodium which, in *H. cernua*, is represented by a broad hairy ring at the base of a comparatively long style.

Even more similar to *H. glaucescens* in leaf is an undescribed Bornean species represented by the following collections of the Forest Research Institute, Buitenzorg—bb. 419, bb. 475, bb. 19,779, bb. 19,808, bb. 20,673 and probably some others. The

¹ See *Gard. Bull. S.S.* 8 : 27 and 32 (1934).

² See *Gard. Bull. S.S.* 10 : 338 (1939).

species represented by these collections, however, is distinct from *H. glaucescens* in having a stylopodium of the *H. cernua* type.

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

KEDAH : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 27385.

PERAK : Scortechini 1929, flower (Type of *Hopsea glaucescens* Sym.) ; Forest Dept. F.M.S. 16160, 16260, 16264, 16271, 24650, 34347, 47401, 51555.

PAHANG : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 37312.

JOHORE : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 5911, 47071

SOUTH EAST BORNEO : ? bb 5545 (II B 939.5 29) ¹

H. glaucescens is a form of *merawan* of rather rare occurrence, usually in low-lying jungle, from Kedah to Johore. The dried leaves are a characteristic silver-grey colour on the upper surface, to describe which the preferred vernacular name *merawan kelabu* has been coined.

***Hopsea kelantanensis* Symington, sp. nov. Plate 3.**

Species *H. nutans* Ridl. habitu similis, sed omnibus partibus glabrescentibus, ovario glabro, stylopodio haud truncato, fructus lobis subalatis valde distincta.

Branchlets subterete, smooth, drying brown in colour. *Leaves* ovate, thinly coriaceous, shortly blunt-acuminate at the apex, rounded and with slightly revolute margins at the base, about 12.0 x 7.0 cm., entirely glabrous but for the domatia, drying a light yellow-brown or greenish-brown on both surfaces, midrib slightly elevate on both surfaces, main nerves 7 or 8 pairs, with occasional short intermediate nerves, faint on the upper surface, very slightly elevate but clearly visible on the lower, small hairy domatia frequently present in the axils of the main nerves on the under-surface; nervules scalariform but very faint and almost invisible to the naked eye on both surfaces, petiole about 2.0 cm. long, rather slender, rugulose when dry. *Panicles* axillary and terminal, glabrous; racemes solitary or in fascicles of 2 or 3, 2.0—6.0 cm. long, branchlets about 1.0—1.5 cm. long and 2 to 3-flowered, flowers about 3.0 mm. apart, bracteoles caducous. *Flowers* about 8.0 mm. long in mature bud; pedicel about 2.0 mm. long, glabrous. *Sepals* mainly glabrous; two outer sepals broadly ovate, with a thickened, blunt, tomentose acumen; three inner sepals slightly smaller and thinner, ovate-rotundate, blunt, glabrous but for the minutely ciliate upper margins. *Petals* oblong, fimbriate at the apex, sericeous on the portions exposed in bud. *Stamens* 15, arranged in 3 rows as in most *Hopsea*; filaments broad and flattened at the base, narrowing abruptly about the middle to the filiform

¹ This specimen has flowers which very closely resemble those of *H. glaucescens*. The leaves have rather fewer nerves and lack the prominent intermediate nerves, but it is not impossible that it is the same species.



Plate 3. *HOPEA KELANTANENSIS* Sym.

upper portion ; anthers 4-celled, cells subequal ; appendage to connective filiform, about as long as the filament and anther. *Ovary* glabrous, narrowing gradually to the slender style ; style glabrous ; stigma minute. *Fruit* : a nut with 2 long and 3 rudimentary wings, nut about 2.0 cm. long, gradually tapering to a sharp point which may retain the slender styler remnant, shining and sometimes sparsely resinous ; pericarp woody, thickened at the apex and splitting into 2 or 3 valves on germination ; calyx lobes markedly imbricate, surrounding the lower half of the nut but readily separating from it and from one another ; two outer lobes developed into wings about 7.0 x 1.8 cm., about 7-nerved ; three inner lobes developed unequally into rudimentary wings about as long as, or slightly exceeding the nut. *Embryo* : cotyledons collateral, the dorsal exceeding the ventral and alone reaching the apex of the ovary, markedly lobed ; radicle medial, directed into the apex of the ovary. *Germination* : cotyledons subequal, green, the first pair of opposite leaves and the third leaf form a pseudo-whorl of 3 leaves, the first pair of leaves each have a pair of oblong-acuminate, caducous stipules which, on one side, appear as interpetiolar stipules with the third leaf (occasionally additional stipules may be present between the first pair of leaves and the third leaf) ; subsequent leaves spiral.

This interesting species was first collected by Mr F. G. Browne, on the banks of the Sungai Nal, in Kelantan, in 1940. Flowers and fruits have subsequently been collected from the same locality.

I know of no described species which is very closely related to *H. kelantanensis*, but I have seen at least two undescribed Bornean species which seem to be close allies. The general *facies* of the plant suggests that it is a member of the section *Euhopea*. I have compared it with *H. nutans* Ridl. because in leaf they are very similar, and confusion in the field is more liable to occur with this species than with any other : but the ovary and stylopodium are more like those of *H. odorata* Roxb. The fruit and embryo, however, are like those of a member of the *Pierrea* group. The pericarp is thickened at the apex, tending to split along three lines of weakness, and the radicle is medial—indeed, I can see no essential difference between the embryo of *H. kelantanensis* and that of *H. apiculata* Sym. or *H. pachycarpa* (Heim) Sym. The germinating seedling produces a first whorl of three leaves. This is a character of species in the section *Dryobalanoides* and the *Bracteata* group of *Hopea* which has not been observed in *Euhopea* or *Pierrea*, but insufficient species have been examined for it to be known whether this character has more than specific significance.

I conclude that *H. kelantanensis* has certain features characteristic of both the *Euhopea* and *Pierrea* groups of *Hopea*, and may be considered as a connecting link between them. An interesting

feature of the fruit is that two of the calyx lobes are developed into long wings while the other three are unequally produced into rudimentary wings.

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

KELANTAN : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 50533 (Type of *H. kelantanensis* Sym.), Forester Mahmud, Sungei Nal, river bank at 300 ft; 14th June, 1940; flower. Field notes—"Tree 80 ft high, 3½ ft 6 in. girth".

Also—Forest Dept. F.M.S. 50528, 50601, 50603.

The species here described as *H. kelantanensis* was discovered by Mr. F. G. Browne on the banks of the Sungei Nal in Kelantan, in 1940. It is distantly related to *giam* (*H. nutans*) which it resembles in leaf characters. It is not a large tree but specimens over 5 ft girth have been recorded. No vernacular name is known in Kelantan but the name *giam hantu* is proposed for adoption. The timber appears to be a heavy form of merawan or a giam.

***Hopea polyalthioides* Symington, sp. nov. Plate 4.**

Inter species sectionis *Pierreae* probabiliter *H. apiculatae* Sym. maxime affinis, sed ab omnibus congeneribus foliis longo-oblongis satis distincta.

Branchlets subterete, slightly marked with decurrent elevate leaf traces, golden velutinous when young, later glabrous and closely studded with small brown lenticels. *Leaves* oblong or linear-oblong, from about 11.0 x 3.0 cm. to 30.0 x 6.0 cm. (average about 21.0 x 4.5 cm.), acuminate at the apex, slightly unequal and subcordate at the base, softly hairy on the under surface when young, glabrous when mature, drying dull grey-green on the upper surface and pale yellow-brown on the lower, midrib depressed and hairy when immature on the upper surface, elevate rounded and velutinous when young on the under surface, main nerves about 12 pairs (on an average leaf), almost invisible on the upper surface, prominent on the lower; reticulations obscurely visible on the upper surface, clearly visible on the lower; petiole short, thick, terete, rugulose, about 9.0 mm. long, velutinous when young. *Panicles* axillary; racemes mainly solitary, about 5.0—10.0 cm. long, very slender, glabrescent and drying dark in colour, branchlets up to 2.0 cm. long, 2 or 3-flowered. *Flowers* unknown. *Immature fruit*: sepals glabrescent, subovate, subequal but the two outer slightly thicker than the three inner; the three inner minutely ciliate towards the apex; ovary and stylopodium hourglass-shaped as in the *Pierreae* group, glabrous; style short; stigma minute.

A fragmentary, sterile specimen of this species was collected by Mr. C. Smith, in Johore, in 1932, but the first satisfactory collection was made by Mr. E. J. H. Corner in 1935. This collection bore very young fruits but, in the process of mounting, all



Plate 4. HOPEA POLYALTHIOIDES Sym.



Plate 5. A, *VATICA PATULA* Sym. B, *VATICA HETEROPTERA* Sym.

but one have been lost from the Singapore and Kepong sheets. Nevertheless the material available is adequate for description of this striking species and to enable it to be assigned to the *Pierrea* group [vide *Gard. Bull. S.S.* 8 : 27 (1934) etc.].

In many ways this species is remarkably unlike a dipterocarp. It is a small tree with an erect stem and long slender branches with distichously-arranged leaved, resembling some forms of *Anonaceae* or *Myristicaceae*. The twigs and long-oblong, short-petioled leaves, particularly when young and velvety, are very suggestive of *Polyalthia cinnamomea* Hook. f., *P. oblonga* King and some other species of *Polyalthia*.

The velvety young parts, the decurrent elevate leaf traces, the short petioles, the type of venation, the slender few-flowered glabrescent panicles, and, above all, the type of ovary and stylopodium, are characters indicative of the *Pierrea* group of *Hopea*. Mr. H. E. Desch's observations on the wood anatomy support this allocation.

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

JOHORE : S'pore Field No 21342 (Type of *H. polyalthioides* Sym.) ; E. J. H. Corner ; 17th mile, Mawai-Jemaluang Road, on hillock in dry forest ; 3rd. February, 1935 ; very young fruit. Field notes—" Vern. name, *resak rambai* ; small tree, 15 ft ; outer bark fawn-brown, slightly creviced, smooth ; inner bark pinkish, thin, the outer bark flaking off in thin pieces on cutting off strips".

Also—Forest Dept. F.M.S. 28392, 35760, 35766.

The species here described as *Hopea polyalthioides* is a small tree occurring in south east Johore. The names *selimbar* or *selumbar*, *resak* and *resak rambai* have been recorded for it, but as these may lead to confusion with other unrelated forms, the name *merawan mempising* has been coined. The timber is considered to be a form of *giam*, but the trees are too small and rare to be of much economic importance. In the field the tree looks more like one of the *Anonaceae* (*mempising*) or *Myristicaceae* (*penarahan*) than a dipterocarp.

***Vatica heteroptera* Symington, sp. nov. Plate 5b.**

Species nova inter subgenera *Synapteam* (Griff.) Brandis et *Isauxem* (Arn.) Brandis ut videtur deposita : specierum adhuc cognitarum prope *V. bellam* V. Sl. tantum ponenda, ab illa foliis majoribus, nuce interdum subinferiore, haud rostrata, fructu alis 2 longioribus quam aliis, alis omnibus patulis, paulo reflexis, distinguenda.

Branchlets pale yellow-brown in colour, minutely pale stellate-hairy towards the ends. *Leaves* elliptic or obovate-oblong, blunt-acuminate at the apex, rounded or subacute at the base, from about 10.0 x 3.8 cm. to 21.0 x 7.5 cm. (average about 15.0 x 5.5 cm.),

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usually sparsely furnished with a few minute stellate hairs on both surfaces, usually drying a dull greenish-grey on both surfaces; midrib elev ate on both surfaces, minutely stellate-hairy; main nerves about 13 pairs with occasional intermediate nerves, prominent on the lower surface, faint above; nervules forming a reticulate-scalariform pattern, clearly visible on the lower surface, faint on the upper; petioles 1.0—2.0 cm. long, slightly thickened in the upper half, tomentose or stellate-hairy; stipules not seen. *Panicles* axillary or terminal, racemes solitary or paired, tomentose. *Flowers* unknown. *Fruit*: stalk up to 3.0 mm. long, stellate-hairy; calyx tube adnate to the base of the nut or up to about the middle of the nut, sparsely minutely stellate-hairy and sparsely lenticellate; calyx lobes valvate, developed into 5 lobes or short wings, usually 2 of which are slightly longer to about twice as long as the other 3, rarely all are subequal, or 4 are subequal and one is more or less larger; short lobes ovate, blunt-acuminate, constricted at the base, 5-nerved, glabrous, thinly coriaceous, about 1.0—2.0 cm. long; long lobes similar but usually oblong, blunt, and up to 4.0 cm. in length; all lobes slightly reflexed where they leave the calyx tube, then curving back and spreading upwards and outwards from the nut; nut subspheroid, shortly apiculate, about 1.2—2.0 cm. across, obscurely marked with 3 radiating lines, minutely stellate-hairy with a prominent verrucose line just above the junction of the calyx tube representing the former attachment of the other perianth parts. •

This is an interesting species because the fruits seem to be intermediate between *Synaptea* and *Isauxis*. The degree of inferiority of the nut is comparable with some species of the subgenus *Synaptea*, e.g. *V. odorata* (Griff.) Sym., but in all the species usually considered in *Synaptea* there are two calyx lobes much longer than the others. In *V. heteroptera* the two large lobes are reduced so that sometimes they are no longer than the other lobes and all the lobes tend to be reflexed as in some species of *Isauxis*. The general appearance of the fruit is more like that of *V. bella* V. Sl. than any other species known to me, although the similarity is admittedly not very close.

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

PAHANG, PERAK and KELANTAN (Cameron Highlands Area) :
Forest Dept. F.M.S. 51658 (Type of *V. heteroptera* Sym.) ;
C. F. Symington; Ulu Nenggiri, Kelantan, ridge at 3,600 ft ;
21st March, 1940; fruits. Field notes—"Tree 4 ft girth, a
typical *Vatica*, fruits green".

Also—Forest Dept. F.M.S. 14305, 28283, 34020, 36293, 36294,
37550; S'pore Herb. No. 32825.

***Vatica patula* Sym., nom. nov.** *Vatica reticulata* King in Journ.
Asiat. Soc. Bengal 62, pt. 2 : 106 (1893) ; Brandis in Journ.
Linn. Soc. (Bot.) 31 : 131 (1895) ; V. Sl. in Bull. Jard. Bot.
Buitenz. III, 9 ; 83 (1927) ; Foxw., Malay. For. Rec.

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10 : 259 (1932) partim ; non *V. reticulata* A.DC., Prodr. 16, pt. 2 : 620 (1868) = *Stemonoporus reticulatus* Thw., Enum. 38 (1858). *Synaptea reticulata* Ridl., Fl. Malay. Penins. 1 : 243 (1922). **Plate 5a.**

King's *Vatica reticulata* (1893) requires a new name because it is antedated by *Vatica reticulata* (Thw.) A.DC. (1868) which is a synonym of *Stemonoporus reticulatus* Thw. I am indebted to Dr. F. W. Foxworthy for drawing my attention to this fact. I have chosen the name *patula* to describe the wide-spreading wings of the mature fruits.

This species was based on a single collection (6969) of Kunstler's from Perak, and it appears not to have been recollected again until 1934. Brandis and van Slooten cited only the type specimen, but Foxworthy added five collections from Pahang which belong to a related, but quite distinct, species. Foxworthy's description of the flower of "*V. reticulata*" refers to this Pahang plant which is almost certainly undescribed. We are still without flowers of *V. patula*, but recent collections bear ripe fruits.

I should like to record here that I have seen collections of a *Vatica* from the Philippines which are an extremely close match for *V. patula*. The specimens to which I refer are Bur. Sc. Philipp. 1004, 1073, and possibly others. These were included under *V. Mangachapoi* Blco. in the herbarium of the Bureau of Science, Manila, when I examined them in 1935, but Merrill had noted on the sheets "undoubted a new species". In the latest work on Philippine dipterocarps, Foxworthy [Philipp. Journ. Sc. 67 : 241-331 (1938)] does not mention these collections and cites no numbers under *V. Mangachapoi*.

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

PERAK : Kunstler 6969 (Holotype of *V. reticulata* King) ; Forest Dept. F.M.S. 38640, 39169, 39170, 39193, 45660

PHILIPPINES :

LUZON : ? Bur. 1004, ? 1073.

The rules of nomenclature require that a new name be given to *Vatica reticulata* King, and *V. patula* has been chosen. This species is a form of *resak* (preferred name = *resak julong*) occurring on hills in Perak. It is here shown that it was confused in *Malay. For. Rec.* 10 with an undescribed species occurring in Pahang.

Vatica cuspidata (Ridl.) Symington in Malay. Forester 3 : 200 (1934) **comb. nov.** *Synaptea cuspidata* Ridl. in Journ. St. Br. R. Asiat. Soc. 82 : 172 (1920) et Fl. Malay. Penins. 1 : 242 (1922). *Synaptea Maingayi* Ridl., Fl. Malay. Penins. 1 : 240 (1922) partim ; non *Vatica Maingayi* Dyer. *Vatica Maingayi* sensu V. Sl. in Bull. Jard. Bot. Buitenz. III, 9 : 85 (1927), Maing. 209 excl. ; sensu Foxw., Malay. For. Rec. 10 : 261 (1932) partim ; non *Vatica Maingayi* Dyer.

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The species here discussed was first described as *Synaptea cuspidata* by Ridley, in 1920. In his "Flora" Ridley cited only the original collection under *Synaptea cuspidata*, but he placed two very similar collections of the same species, from the same locality (Forest Dept. F.M.S. 5003 and 5005), under *Synaptea Maingayi* (Dyer) Ridl. Confusion of *Synaptea cuspidata* Ridl. and *Vatica Maingayi* Dyer has persisted in subsequent published works.

In 1927, van Slooten, possibly influenced by Ridley's wrong identification of 5003 and 5005, misinterpreted the description of *V. Maingayi* Dyer, of which he had not seen the type: he referred several Malay Peninsula collections of *V. cuspidata*, and reduced Ridley's *Synaptea cuspidata*, to that species.

Actually, all the specimens examined by van Slooten and placed under *V. Maingayi* belonged to one species—*V. cuspidata*.

In 1932, Foxworthy included specimens of both *V. Maingayi* Dyer and *V. cuspidata* (Ridl.) Sym. under the heading *V. Maingayi*, and followed van Slooten in citing *Synaptea cuspidata* Ridl. as a synonym of *V. Maingayi* Dyer.

The earliest collection of this species that I have seen is a sterile one made by R. P. Gibbes in the Dindings, in 1900. It appears since to have lain in the Singapore herbarium unidentified except as "? *Anisoptera*" and "*Shorea*?"

The next collection is the fruiting collection by Borges from the same locality, which Ridley described as *Synaptea cuspidata*. As *Synaptea cuspidata* was sunk in synonymy when van Slooten readjusted the nomenclature of the genus *Vatica* to conform with his conception of *Synaptea*, etc. as subgenera, the combination *Vatica cuspidata* has not before been made.

Collections examined:—

MALAY PENINSULA:

PERAK: Forest Dept. F.M.S. 8021, 8026, 16076, 16139, 16141 to 16143, 25408, 25422, 25434, 25640, 28061, 28590, 28999, 29925, 32194, 33751, 39192, 51604, 51606 to 51608.

DINDINGS: R. P. Gibbes s. n. (1900); Borges 413 (Holotype of *Synaptea cuspidata* Ridl. in Herb. Kepong); Forest Dept. F.M.S. 5003, 5005, 16567, 16567, 16563, 16587, 16751, 27846, 34806 to 34816, 34851 to 34853, 34869, 34871.

TRENGGANU: Forest Dept. F.M.S. 26688, 26743, 46511 to 46516.

PAHANG: Forest Dept. F.M.S. 15025, 37308.

JOHORE: Forest Dept. F.M.S. 30224 to 30227, 47078, 47089, 47091, 49502 to 49504.

Vatica cuspidata is the most abundant *Vatica* on the coastal hills of the Malay Peninsula. We have coined the name *resak daun runching* for it. This note is intended to elucidate the confusion which has existed in botanical literature between this species and *V. Maingayi* (*resak lidi*).

Vatica Maingayi Dyer in Hook. f. Fl. Brit. Ind. 1: 302 (1874), King in Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal. 62, pt. 2: 104 (1893); Brandis in Journ. Linn. Soc. (Bot.) 31: 131 (1895); V. Sl. in Bull. Jard. Bot. Buitenz. III, 9: 85 (1927) quoad descr.; Foxw., Malay. For. Rec. 10: 261 (1932) partim. *Vatica Lowii* King in l.c. 103, quoad Scort. 2108; V. Sl. in l.c. p. 83; non V. Lowii King emend. Sym. *Synaptea Maingayi* Ridl., Fl. Malay Penins. 1: 240 (1922) spec. Dinding. excl. *Synaptea Lowii* Ridl., l.c. p. 241, partim; non V. Lowii King emend. Sym. *Vatica macroptera* V. Sl. in l.c., in synon. sub V. Lowii.

The earliest collections of this species that I have examined are those of Maingay from Malacca (numbered 207 and 209 in Herb. Kew), upon which Dyer based his description in 1874. In 1893, King did not add any specimens under *V. Maingayi*, but he made the curious mistake of identifying a collection (Scortechini 2108), which clearly belongs to *V. Maingayi*, with Kunstler 7496, an entirely different species, and describing them as a new species, *V. Lowii* King. It is clear that King used both specimens in drawing up his description, but Kunstler 7496, bearing flower, has been mainly used and I propose to restrict the name *V. Lowii* to that specimen.

Brandis followed King, and Ridley, elevating *Synaptea* to generic rank, made the combinations *Synaptea Maingayi* and *Synaptea Lowii*. Ridley's conception of the species is essentially that of King and Brandis but he cites a collection of *V. cuspidata* ("Gunong Melintang, Foxworthy") under *S. Maingayi* and a collection of *V. Maingayi* ("Segari Melintang, Foxworthy") under *S. Lowii*.

Van Slooten (1927) was the first to detect the mixed nature of King's *V. Lowii* but, as he had not seen the type of *V. Maingayi* Dyer and had misinterpreted collections of *V. cuspidata* as *V. Maingayi*, he failed to detect that Scort. 2108 was *V. Maingayi*. This, unfortunately, led van Slooten to restrict the name *V. Lowii* to Scort. 2108. Concerning Kunstler 7496 he says, "probably it has to be reduced to *V. Curtisii* King", but I do not agree that these are the same species. Thus, van Slooten's *V. Maingayi* is *V. cuspidata* (Ridl.) Sym., and his *V. Lowii* is *V. Maingayi* Dyer.

Subsequent collections of this species were correctly referred by Foxworthy to *V. Maingayi*, but he included along with them most of the extant collections of *V. cuspidata*, and followed van Slooten in giving *Synaptea cuspidata* Ridl. as a synonym of *V. Maingayi* Dyer. On my authority Foxworthy has identified Scort. 2108 with *V. Maingayi* and given "*V. Lowii* King pro parte" as synonym, but he has not made it clear that *V. Lowii* sensu V. Sl. is *V. Maingayi* Dyer.

I have not seen the specimens upon which *V. macroptera* V. Sl. is based, but van Slooten clearly considers it a synonym of his *V. Lowii* and I have cited it here on the assumption that he is correct.

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Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

KEDAH : S'pore Field No. 35909 ; Forest Dept. F.M.S. 42342.

PENANG : S'pore Field No. 3746, 3491 ; Forest Dept. F.M.S. 11676.

PERAK : Scort 2108 (Syntype of *V. Lowii* King) ; Forest Dept. F.M.S. 5682, 16284, 34174.

DINDINGS : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 1607.

SELANGOR : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 29742, 30146, 32301, 33734.

PAHANG : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 40424.

MALACCA : Maing. 207 and 209 (Syntypes of *V. Maingayi* Dyer) ; Forest Dept. F.M.S. 14188, 18299, 25330, 34904 to 34908.

JOHORE : Cantley 16.

SINGAPORE : S'pore Field No. 34959, 35918.

SUMATRA :

PELEMBANG : T. 946.

V. Maingayi is a common Malayan form of *resak* to which we have given the name *resak lidi*. In botanical literature this species has been confused with *V. cuspidata* (*resak daun runching*) and this note is an endeavour to straighten out the confusion.

Vatica perakensis King emend. Symington. *Vatica perakensis* King in Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal 62, pt. 2 : 103 (1893) spec. Pangkor. excl. ; Brandis in Journ. Linn. Soc. (Bot.) 31 : 132 (1895) spec. Pangkor. excl., Pl. III, figs. 18 and 19 ; Brühl et King, Ann. R. Bot. Grad. Calcutta 5, pt. 2 : 149 (1896), spec. Pangkor. excl., tab. 181 ; V. Sl. in Bull. Jard. Bot. Buitenz. III, 9 : 86 (1927) quoad descr. ; Foxw., Malay. For. Rec. 10 : 262 (1932) partim. *Synaptea perkensis* Ridl., Fl. Malay. Penins. 1 : 242 (1922) spec. Pangkor. excl.

This species was described by King from collections of Kunstler, Wray, and Curtis. Unfortunately he departed from his usual practice of citing the numbers of the collections examined, but there is no room for doubt that the sheets marked *V. perakensis* in the Singapore herbarium are of the collections examined by King. Singapore have the following—Kunstler 7549 (3 sheets, flower), Wray 2264 (2 sheets, fruit) and 2837 (2 sheets, fruit), and Curtis s.n. (Pangkor). The Kunstler sheets bear annotations in King's handwriting, although the identification is not appended by him, and Curtis' sheet is named by his hand. Comparison of the excellent figure by Bruhl (*l.c.*) with these collections of Kunstler and Wray show clearly that these are either the collections upon which King's species is based or identical with them. Curtis' specimen bears young fruits. King's description of the branchlets as "deciduously scurfily stellate-pubescent" may have been based on examination of this collection, but otherwise it does not seem to have been used as a basis of *V. perakensis* King. Careful examination reveals that this collection of Curtis' is quite distinct from those of Kunstler and Wray : it is *V. Lowii* King emend. Sym. (*vide p.*).

Brandis and Ridley did not alter King's circumscription of the species but Ridley, recognizing *Synaptea* Griff. as a genus, made the combination *Synaptea perakensis*.

In 1927, van Slooten seems to have been uncertain about this species because he reproduced King's description and did not examine Kunstler 7549, Wray 2264 and 2837, or Curtis s.n. (Pangkor). He says "of this species I have seen i.a. King's coll. : No. 3692 (fruiting) and 3432 (flowering), which may belong to the type specimens." I have not seen these specimens. According to Narayanaswami (Provenance of Early Malayan Plant Collections, *Journ. et. Proc., Asiat. Soc. Bengal.* 27 : 344, 1931) 3432 is preserved under *Synaptea perakensis* in the Calcutta herbarium. Moreover, van Slooten's comments on the "slender axes of its inflorescences and . . . small flowers of which the acute stigma is comparatively large and as long as the style, being $\frac{1}{2}$ mm. in length", suggest that the specimen is conspecific with Kunstler 7549. I have been unable to trace Kunstler 3692. His comments suggest that van Slooten doubted whether it is conspecific with 3432. The probability is that it is not, because the additional collections cited under *V. perakensis* by van Slooten are clearly not *V. perakensis* King in the strict sense. These additional collections are Forest Dept. F.M.S. 44 (Barnard), which belongs to an undescribed species occurring at high altitudes in the Perak hills, and Forest Dept. F.M.S. 1605 (Askey), which is *V. Lowii* King emend. Sym. The latter collection is conspecific with Curtis s.n. included under *V. perakensis* by King and other, and may therefore be said to belong to *V. perakensis* sensu lato but not *V. perakensis* King emend. Sym.

Foxworthy also reproduced King's description but the specimens cited are a mixture of *V. perakensis* King emend. Sym. and *V. Lowii* King emend. Sym., with the exception of Forest Dept. F.M.S. 2102, which is probably an undescribed species, and Forest Dept. F.M.S. 44 mentioned above. Foxworthy cited one collection of *V. perakensis* King emend. Sym. (Forest Dept. F.M.S. 16572) under the heading of *V. Maingayi*.

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

KEDAH : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 46981.

PERAK : Kunstler 7549, and Wray 2264 and 2837 [Syntypes of *V. perakensis* King; Kunstler 7549 may be taken as the lectotype (del. Sym.) of *V. perakensis* King]

DINDINGS : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 16572, 34805.

This note is an endeavour to remove ambiguity concerning the identity of our *resak puteh* (*Vatica perakensis*) which is a tree of coastal hills in Kedah and Perak.

Vatica Lowii King emend. Symington. *Vatica Lowii* King in *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal* 62, pt. 2 : 103 (1893) partim ; Brandis in *Journ. Linn. Soc. (Bot.)* 31 : 131 (1895) partim ; Brühl et 1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

King, Ann. R. Bot. Gard. Culcutta 5, pt. 2: 150, tab. 182B (1896) partim, non *V. Lowii* sensu V. Sl. in Bull. Jard. Bot. Buitenz. III, 9: 83 (1927). *Vatica perakensis* King in l.c., p. 103, partim quoad spec. Curtis.; sensu Foxw., Malay. For. Rec. 10: 262 (1932) partim *Synaptea Lowii* Ridl., Fl. Malay. Penins. 1: 241 (1922) partim.

King described *V. Lowii* from two collections—Scortechini 2108 (fruit) and Kunstler 7496 (flower)—which are very obviously different species. His description is based mainly on Kunstler 7496, but the fruit description and figs. 2 and 9 of Brühl's drawing have evidently been made from Scort. 2108. King says that *V. Lowii* "is closely allied to *V. Maingayi* Dyer, but has smaller flowers and rather larger leaves with considerably longer petioles", but he describes the petioles of *V. Lowii* as 0.3 to 0.4 in., and those of *V. Maingayi* as 0.6 to 1.5 in. ! Scort. 2108 is, actually, quite clearly conspecific with Maingay's specimens of *V. Maingayi* Dyer, and it is most surprising that King should have failed to note this. It is also surprising that King has cited a collection of *V. Lowii* King emend. Sym. under his *V. perakensis* and to some extent based his description of *V. perakensis* upon this specimen.

Brandis followed King, and Ridley, while creating the combination *Synaptea Lowii* for *V. Lowii* King, failed to detect the mixed nature of King's species. In his citations he added one collection from Segari Melintang which is *V. Maingayi* Dyer.

Van Slooten (1927) was the first to draw attention to the fact that *V. Lowii* King was a mixture, but he retained Scort. 2108 under this name and rejected Kunstler 7496. Van Slooten had not seen the type of *V. Maingayi* Dyer or he would not have failed to identify Scort. 2108 with it. His rejection of Kunstler 7496 appears to have been influenced also by his opinion that this specimen "probably.....has to be reduced to *V. Curtisii* King". In my opinion it is quite distinct from *V. Curtisii* King, although somewhat similar in leaf and certainly closely related to it. Van Slooten cited a specimen (1605) of *V. Lowii* King emend. Sym. under his *V. perakensis*.

I have shown elsewhere in these notes (under *V. Maingayi* and *V. cuspidata*) that van Slooten's *V. Maingayi* is *V. cuspidata* (Ridl.) Sym.: his *V. Lowii* is *V. Maingayi* Dyer.

Foxworthy gives "*Vatica Lowii* King pro parte" as a synonym of *V. Maingayi* Dyer, correctly citing Scort. 2108 under this heading, but he has cited Kunstler 7496 under *Vatica Curtisii*. Presumably he has acted on van Slooten's suggestion concerning this specimen although there is no key to this in his synonymy of *V. Curtisii*. The remaining specimens of *V. Lowii* King emend. Sym. examined by Foxworthy (1605, 25476, and 16558) have been cited by him under *V. perakensis*.

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

PERAK : Kunstler 7496 [Syntype of *V. Lowii* King and lectotype (del Sym) of *V. Lowii* King emend Sym], Forest Dept F.M.S. 39062, 39336

DINDINGS : Curtis s. n., "Panchor near D O's quarters" (Syntype of *V. perakensis* King); Forest Dept F.M.S. (Askey) 1605, 16558

THAILAND :

PATTANI (Kelantan border) . . Forest Dept F.M.S. 56212

Vatica Scortechinii (King) Brandis in Journ. Linn. Soc. (Bot.) 31 : 122 (1895) quoad Scort. 1940 and 1942, tab. 3, fig. 9, Ridl., Fl. Malay Penins. 1 : 244 (1922) partim, Craib, Fl. Siam. Enum. 1 : 141 (1925) spec. siam. excl.; V. Sl. in Bull. Jard. Bot. Buitenz. III, 9 : 108 (1927) partim, fig. 1e, Foxw., Malay. For. Rec. 10 : 267 (1932) partim. *Retinodendron Scortechinii* King in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal 62, pt. 2 : 128 (1893); Brühl et King, Ann. R. Bot. Gard. Culcutta 5, pt. 2 : 157 (1896) tab. 190

This species was described from two collections (1940 and 1942) made by Scortechinii, in Perak, which are well figured by Brühl. Subsequent authors have recorded collections from Lower Siam (Curtis 2934) and Pahang (Ridl. 2438). The former is *V. diospyroides* Sym. and, in notes made at Kew in 1931, I have recorded that Ridl. 2438 looks quite distinct from *V. Scortechinii*¹. Van Slooten recorded one collection (S'pore Field No. 16517) which is, in my opinion, definitely not this species but *V. Havilandii* Brandis. It appears that van Slooten's comment "agrees with *V. Lowii* and *nitens* King, *V. Dyeri* Pierre and *V. Maingayi* Dyer of the subgenus *Synaptea* by the brownish flocculent stellate tomentum of its inflorescences" is based on examination of this specimen. At any rate it could not be based on examination of the type specimens.

Foxworthy added little to what previous authors had said concerning *V. Scortechinii*, but the plant he had mainly in mind as this species is actually *V. nitens* King. In addition to the collections cited by van Slooten, Foxworthy cites five collections which are clearly *V. nitens* although they are abnormal in possessing galled flowers.

Collections examined :—

MALAY PENINSULA :

PERAK : Scort. 1940 and 1942 (Syntypes of *Retinodendron Scortechinii* King); Forest Dept F.M.S. 28578, 29872, 29873, 29886, 30070, 30711.

TRENGGANU : ? Forest Dept. F.M.S. 26754, ? 43086

PAHANG : Forest Dept F.M.S. 49849

Vatica Scortechinii is a large-leaved form of *Vatica* to which we have given the name *resak langgong*. This note draws attention

¹ Ridl. 2438 is not represented in the Singapore herbarium.

to the fact that it has been confused in botanical literature with *V. nitens* (resak daun panjang), a species which resembles it slightly in leaf size and shape.

Vatica odorata (Griff.) Sym. **comb. nov.** *Hopea grandiflora* Wall. Cat. 958 (1828) nomen; DC. Prod. 16: 634 (1868). *Hopea faginea* Wall. Cat. 963 (1828) nomen. *Shorea pinangiana* Wall. Cat. p. 157 (1828) nomen; Kurz in Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 43: 96 (1874) pro synonym.; King in Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 62, 2: 105 (1893) pro synonym. sub *V. faginea*. *Synaptea odorata* Griff. Notul. 4: 516, t. 585 A, f. 5 (1854). *Synaptea grandiflora* Kurz in Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 2: 65 (1870); Pierre, Fl. For. Cochinch., tab. 240-242 in notis. *Anisoptera odorata* Kurz in Regensb. Flora: 190 (1872); in Journ. R. As. Soc. Beng. 43: 96 (1874); et Fl. Brit. Burma 1: 112 (1877). *Vatica grandiflora* Dyer (**synon. nov.**) in Hook. f., Fl. Brit. India. 1: 301 (1875); King in l.c.: 101 (1893) in nota; Brandis in Journ. Linn. Soc. 31: 129 (1895); Foxw., Malay. For. Rec. 10: 260 (1932) in nota. *Vatica faginea* Dyer (**synon. nov.**) in l.c. (1875); Kurz in l.c. (1874) in nota sub *A. odorata*; King in l.c.: 105 (1893); Brandis in l.c. (1895); V. Sl. in Bull. Jard. Bot. Buitenz. III, 9: 81 (1927) in nota; Foxw., op. cit.: 260 (1932). *Vatica astrotricha* Hance (**synon. nov.**) in (Lond.) Journ. Bot. 14: 241 (1876); Brandis in l.c.: 130 (1895); non *V. astrotricha* sensu Fischer in Kew Bull. 1926: 458. *Vatica Dyeri* Pierre ex Lanessan (**synon. nov.**), Pl. Utiles Colon. Franc. 1: 299 (1886) nomen seminudum; King in l.c.: 106 (1893); Brandis in l.c.: 128 (1895); V. Sl. in l.c.: 83 (1927); Foxw., op. cit.: 258 (1932). *Synaptea astrotricha* Pierre, Fl. For. Cochinch. t. 240 (1890). *Synaptea Dyeri* Pierre, op. cit., t. 241 (1891); Ridl., Fl. Malay Penins.: 240 (1922). *Synaptea faginea* Pierre, op. cit., t. 242 (1891); Ridl., op. cit.: 242 (1922). *Vatica Curtisii* King (**synon. nov.**) in l.c.: 105 (1893); Brandis in l.c.: 131 (1895); Brühl et King, Ann. R. Bot. Gard. Cutchta 5, pt. 2: 151, tab. 183B (1896); V. Sl. in l.c.: 81 (1927); Foxw., op. cit.: 257 (1932).

The earliest collections of this species were made by Wallich in Penang¹ and listed in his catalogue under the names *Hopea grandiflora* (Wall. Cat. 958), *Hopea faginea* (Wall. Cat. 963), and *Shorea pinangiana*. I gather from Kurz' comment in l.c. (1874) that the two last names were applied to different sheets of the same collection. *H. grandiflora* was validly published by De Candolle in 1868 but, in the interval, Griffith (1854) had described one of his collections from Mergui under *Synaptea odorata* which was the type of his new genus *Synaptea*.

In 1870 Kurz referred *Hopea grandiflora* to Griffith's genus, making the combination *Synaptea grandiflora*. At that time he was apparently uncertain of the identity of *S. odorata* Griff., but in 1872 he united it with his *S. grandiflora* under the name *Anisop-*

¹ The origin of these specimens as Penang should be checked.

tera odorata, when he demoted *Synaptea* to the status of subgenus and placed it under *Anisoptera*.

Dyer (1875) was the first to refer the species to *Vatica* but he employed the epithet *grandiflora* instead of *odorata* which should have been given precedence. Subsequently authors have followed Dyer, but it is now necessary to rename the species *Vatica odorata*.

At the same time as he referred this species to *Vatica*, under the name *V. grandiflora*, Dyer described Wallich's *Hopea faginea* as *Vatica faginea*, including in his citation, correctly in my opinion, Burmese specimens collected by Helfer and Griffith. Dyer noted no tangible difference between his two species, as is evident from his remark under *V. faginea*, "not sharply distinguished from *V. grandiflora* except by the difference in *facies* and the smaller foliage".

In 1876, Hance described Cambodian collections in Pierre's herbarium as *V. astrotricha*. I have seen the Kew sheets of this species, and can see no difference between them and the authentic specimens of *V. faginea* Dyer. In 1890-91, Pierre resurrected *Synaptea*, making the combinations *S. faginea* and *S. astrotricha*, and described his *S. Dyeri*, based on two collections which differ only slightly in shape of leaf and maturity of parts from *V. grandiflora*, *V. faginea*, and *V. astrotricha*. Brandis [*l.c.*: 130 (1895)] enumerates these four "species" which he says "form a well-marked group; they are very closely allied, and it is not impossible that further studies on the spot in the forests of Burma, and the Malay Peninsula, Cambodia, and Cochinchina may show that some of them are only local varieties of a polymorphous species."

So far, the only Malay Peninsula collections considered have been those of Wallich (and their location is doubtful!). In his *Materials for a Flora of the Malay Peninsula*, King [*l.c.* (1893)] added a collection of Kunstler's (7662) of this species, under the heading *V. Dyeri*, and described a "new species", *V. Curtisii*, from a collection made by Curtis (1579) in Penang. King also credited *V. faginea* Dyer to the Peninsula citing two additional specimens, Kunstler 3686 and 3765. I have not seen these but van Slooten (1927) states that 3765 is *V. cinerea* King. Judging by King's description van Slooten is correct. Van Slooten and Foxworthy added several collections from the Malay Peninsula under the heading *V. Curtisii*. I agree with these additions with the exception of King 7496, which is the type of *Vatica Lowii* King emend. Sym. I have not seen the Bornean collections cited by van Slooten under *V. Curtisii*.

I have mentioned that King appears to have included a collection of his *V. cinerea* under *V. faginea*. Confusion of *V. cinerea* King¹ with the *V. odorata* group is prevalent in some her-

¹ The possible identity of *V. cinerea* King with *V. Harmandiana* Pierre ex Lanessan should be investigated. After a brief examination of Pierre 1892 (Type of *V. Harmandiana*) at Kew, in 1931, I noted that these two species are suspiciously alike.

baria, and probably in the economic literature of Burma and Indo-China. At Kew I noted a specimen (1463) of *V. cinerea* King wrongly identified as *S. astrotricha* by Pierre, and Burmese collections of *V. cinerea* in the herbaria at Maymyo and Kew have been wrongly identified as *V. astrotricha*, *V. faginea*, and *V. Dyeri*. The collection (Parkinson 1667) upon which Fischer (*Kew Bulletin* 1926, p. 458) has based as description of flowers of *V. astrotricha*, is actually *V. cinerea*. I have seen collections of *Vatica* from Hainan (43809, 61937, 70809, 72862) identified as *V. astrotricha* Hance in the herbarium of the Botanical Institute, Sun Yat Sen University, Canton. These are, in my opinion, not *V. odorata* (Griff.) Sym.

Collections examined :—

INDO-CHINA : Pierre 1575 (Syntype of *S. astrotricha* Pierre);
Pierre 1577 and 1581 (Syntypes of *S. Dyeri* Pierre).

BURMA :

TENASSERIM : Heller 716 and 717, and Griffith 732 (Syntypes of *V. faginea* Dyer); Forest Dept. Burma 13 (Karokpi) and 6502.

MALAY PENINSULA :

PENANG : Wallich 958¹ (Holotype of *H. grandiflora* Wall. ex DC. and syntype of *V. grandiflora* Dyer); Wallich 963¹ (Holotype of *H. faginea* Wall. and syntype of *V. faginea* Dyer); Curtis 1579 (Holotype of *V. Curtisii* King) and *s.n.* (1893); S'pore Field No. 3482.

KEDAH : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 8928, 33043, 46940.

PERAK : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 9420, 10416, 12068, 16573, 24506, 24508

DINDINGS : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 27839

SELANGOR : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 56306 to 56308.

NEGRI SEMBILAN : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 18073.

PAHANG : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 3162, 5741, 10571, 29678, 40450.

SINGAPORE : Singapore Field No 36536 (Bot. Gard., Cult.)

The above notes are a record of an investigation of the correct botanical name for one of our species of *Vatica* to which the vernacular name *resak ranting kesat* has been applied. In the most recent botanical literature of our territory it has usually been called *Vatica Curtisii* King, but the view taken here is that the same species has been described earlier by several different names from the Peninsula, Burma, and Indo China. The rules of nomenclature require that the new combination *Vatica odorata* be made for the species.

***Shorea peltata* Symington, sp. nov. Plate 6.**

S. balanocarpoideae Sym. inter alia affinis, sed ab omnibus speciebus in sectione Richetia adhuc descriptis foliis peltatis valde distincta.

¹ The locality of this collection requires further investigation.

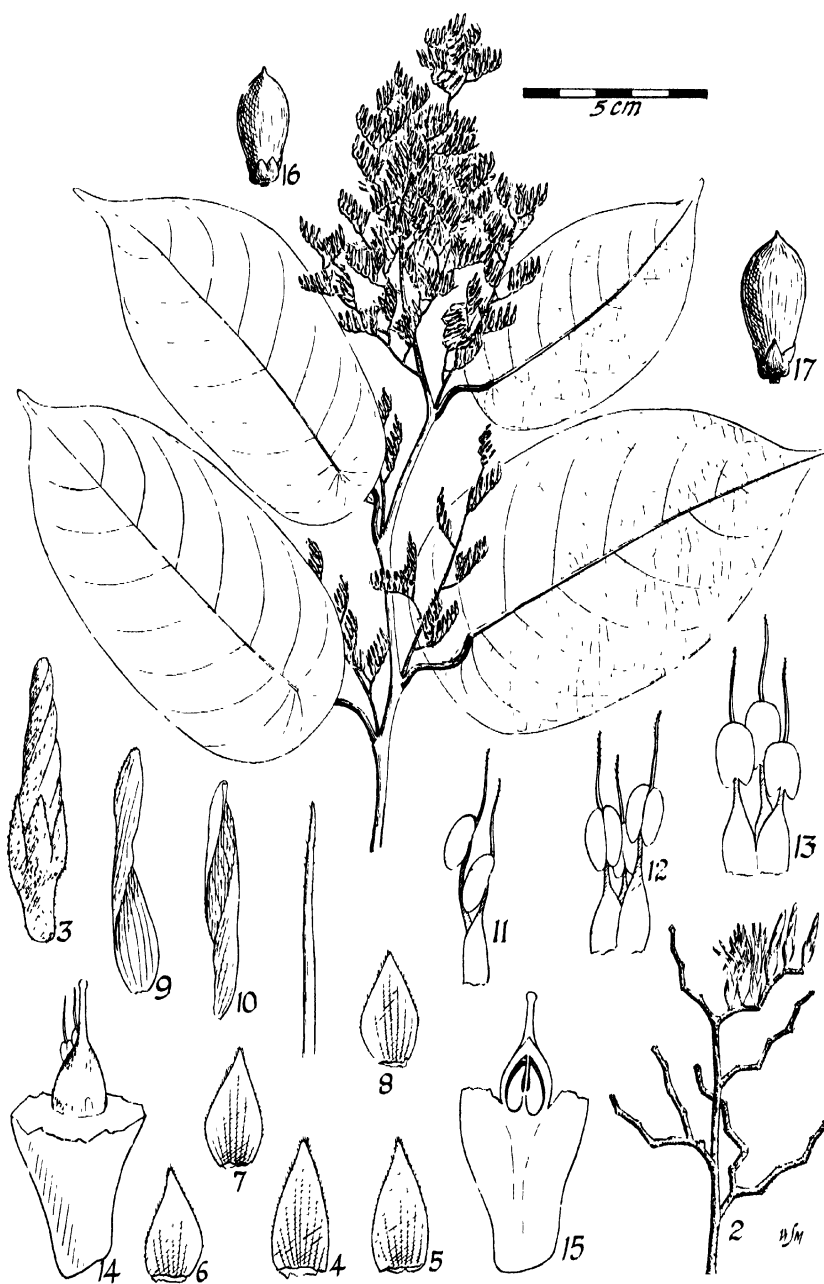


Plate 6 *SHOREA PELIATA* Sym.

Branchlets slender, lenticellate, glabrous except at the very young tips, drying reddish-brown in colour. *Leaves* peltate, ovate or ovate-elliptical, caudate acuminate at the apex, rounded at the base, margin frequently slightly revolute, from about 8.0 x 4.0 to 18 x 9.0 cm., glabrous, drying greenish-grey on the upper surface and yellow-brown on the lower; midrib neither elevated nor markedly depressed on the upper surface; main nerves 8 to 10 pairs, visible on both surfaces but faint on the upper surface; reticulations about equally distinct on both surfaces; petioles inserted about 0.6 to 1.6 cm. from the basal margin of the leaf, rather slender, 1.5 to 2.5 cm. long, rugose on the upper portion and dark red-brown when dry; stipules minute, caducous. *Panicles* terminal and axillary in the axils of the terminal two or three leaves; racemes solitary, 4 to 8 cm. long, pale stellate-hairy; branchlets solitary or paired, simple or forked, markedly zig-zag when mature, up to 1.5 cm. long, 4 to 8-flowered. *Flowers* about 2.0 mm. apart, subsecund; bracteoles minute, ovate, caducous; buds elongate, about 6.0 mm. long when mature, subsessile. *Sepals* subequal, subovate, blunt or pointed, pale tomentose outside. *Petals* linear, sericeous on the portion exposed in bud, yellow. *Stamens* 15, pairs alternating with single stamens, of three heights; anthers 2-celled; filaments 2 to 3 times as long as the anthers, broad at the base, narrow in the upper half; appendage to connective awn-like, about twice as long as the anthers, minutely ciliate in the upper half. *Ovary* ovate-conical, glabrous on the lower portion, minutely pubescent on the upper; style cylindrical rather shorter than the ovary, glabrous; stigma minute, apparently simple. *Fruits* sessile; calyx lobes subequal, imbricate, acute or blunt at the apex, woody at the base, sparsely fulvous hairy or glabrescent, united at their bases to form a short woody receptacle which embraces the base of the nut; nut elliptic or obovoid, pointed, about 3.5 cm. long when fully mature, minutely striated and pale fulvous tomentose.

Shorea peltata is a typical member of the *Richetia* group [*vide Gard. Bull. S.S. 9: 330 (1938)*], but it is quite distinct from any described member of the group in having peltate mature leaves. Although no species has hitherto been described with peltate leaves, this condition, or at least a tendency towards it, seems to be characteristic of the *Richetia* group. I have material of at least two undescribed Bornean species which have peltate leaves, and several well-known species in the group tend to have peltate leaves on seedlings or immature trees, although the mature leaf is not peltate.

Collections examined:—

MALAY PENINSULA:

JOHORE: Forest Dept. F.M.S. 49356 (Type of *S. peltata* Sym.); Abdul Jaffar; Compt. 2, Jemaluang Forest Reserve, low-lying land; 23rd May, 1939; flower. Field notes—"tree 20 ft high, 8 in. girth; flower yellow".

Also—Forest Dept. F.M.S. 35751, 49351 to 49355, 49361, 50849

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The tree here described was first discovered by Mr. G. E. Garfitt in Jemaluang Forest Reserve in north east Johore. It is a small tree, rarely exceeding 2.0 ft girth, belonging to the *meranti damar hitam* group. It is botanically related to *damar katup* (*Shorea balanocarpoides*), having similar fruit, but it is unlike any of our other dipterocarps in having peltate leaves. The Malay name, *meranti telepok*, which has been coined for this species, is intended to suggest as analogy between its peltate leaves and those of the lotus (*Nelubium speciosum* Willd. = *telepok*).

Shorea sericeiflora Fischer et Hutch. in Kew Bulletin 1926 : 422 ; Sym. ex Desch, Malay. For. Rec. 12 : 27 (1936) in obs. ; Parkinson in Indian For. Rec. (Bot.) 1 : 43 (1937) with drawings of flowering branchlet, flower parts, and fruit. *S. gratissima* sensu Foxw., Malay For. Rec. 10 : 189 (1932) partim ; non *S. gratissima* Dyer.

This note is intended to draw attention to the extended record of distribution of this Burmese species. Parkinson gave the distribution as the Amherst and Tavoy districts of Tenasserim, Lower Burma. In examining Dr. Kerr's Siamese collections I came across numerous collections of the species from peninsular Thailand and from as far north as the Rachasima and Ayuthia circles. The southern limit of distribution may now be extended to the north west of Kedah and the Langkawi Islands. In 1932, Foxworthy enumerated several Langkawi collections but referred them with some doubt to *S. gratissima* Dyer which is a closely-related species but appears to have a wider range of distribution.

Collections examined :—

BURMA : C. E. Parkinson 8730 ; Shaik Mokim 113, 373 ; Conservator of Forests Pegu Circle, 1954 (Type of *S. sericeiflora* Fischer et Hutch.), and 1952 ; Maung Po In, 11690 and 11691 ; Pu Pe 901.

THAILAND :

RACHASIMA CIRCLE : Kerr 8152, s. n. (Korat) ; N. Put 3585.

PRACHINBURI CIRCLE : Kerr 9807.

AYUTHIA CIRCLE : N. Noe 1.

RACHABURI CIRCLE : Kerr 10781, 16659.

NAKAWN SRITAMARAT CIRCLE : Kerr 15849 ; S'pore Field No. 24234 (Hamid).

PUKET : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 2961 (Hamid).

LANGKAWI ISLANDS : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 7668, 7669, 7671, 7691, 12369, 17063, 25915, 25916, 33179, 34743, 42505, 42514, 42515.

MALAY PENINSULA :.

KEDAH : Forest Dept. F.M.S. 31319, 31333, 31343, 33072, 42365, 47802.

***Shorea Talura* Roxb., *S. floribunda* Wall. ex Kurz, and *S. cochinchinensis* Pierre.**

In preparing a note for a forest department publication on Malayan dipterocarps I have been faced with the problem of decid-

ing what is the correct botanical name for a species which occurs in the North of our territory and is usually given the Malay name *temak*. Foxworthy [*Malay. For. Rec.* 10: 182 (1932)] identified it with *Shorea cochinchinensis* Pierre (1890) from Cochinchina, but other two earlier species require consideration, namely *S. Talura* Roxb. (1814) from Southern India, and *S. floribunda* Wall. ex Kurz (1873) from Burma.

I have not been able to give the problem the study it demands, but from what I have seen of the Kew, Dehra Dun, and Kepong material, and Dr. Kerr's Siamese collections, I would say that the three should be considered as one species. Possibly separate forms should be described from India, Burma, and Cochinchina. Pierre originally described his specimen as *S. Talura* var. *cochinchinensis* in Lanessan, *Pl. Utiles Colon. Franc.*, but later, obviously with considerable hesitation, elevated it to specific rank. Brandis [*Journ. Linn. Soc. (Bot.)* 31: 85] said "the three last-named species—*Talura*, *cochinchinensis*, and *floribunda* are so closely allied that examination of more ample material may prove them to be identical", while Parkinson [*Ind. For. Rec. (Bot.)* 1: 38 (1937)] was of opinion that *S. Talura* and *S. floribunda* were identical, although he did not venture to unite them.

I had intended investigating this problem fully before referring our *temak* to *S. Talura* Roxb. in publication, but that has not been possible. I shall, however, be much surprised if closer examination does not support the desirability of uniting *S. Talura* Roxb., *S. floribunda* Wall. ex Kurz, and *S. cochinchinensis* Pierre. It is also doubtful whether *S. Harmandii* Pierre ex Lanessan is specifically distinct from these species.

Shorea sumatrana (V. Sl. ex Foxw.) Sym. ex Desch, Malay Forester 3: 195 (1934) et Malay. For. Rec. 12: 9 (1936). *Isoptera borneensis* sensu King in Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal. 62: 129 (1893) quoad Ridl. 2626; Brandis in Journ. Linn. Soc. (Bot.) 31: 129 (1893) quoad Ridl. 2626; Ridl., Fl. Malay Penins. 1: 245 (1922); Foxw., Malay. For. Rec. 3: 70 (1927); non *I. borneensis* Scheff. ex Burck in Ann. Jard. Bot. Buitenz. 6: 222 (1887). *Isoptera sumatrana* V. Sl. ex Foxw., Malay. For. Rec. 10: 238 (1932).

This note is intended to draw attention to the fact that a new combination *Shorea sumatrana* was published by me in *l.c.*. The history of this species is briefly as follows. Specimens were first collected by Ridley in Pahang. In 1893, King referred them to the monotypic Bornean species *Isoptera borneensis* Scheff. ex Burck. Subsequent authors on the flora of the Malay Peninsula followed, King, until van Slooten drew attention to certain differences in fruit between the Peninsula plant and the true Bornean *I. borneensis*. He proposed that they should be specifically distinct [1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

and suggested the name *I. sumatrana*, which was published by Foxworthy in 1932. Personally I should have felt inclined to consider our form as only a variety of the Bornean, but that is a matter of opinion.

In 1929, van Slooten (*Univ. Calif. Pub. Bot.* 15 : 204) gave his opinion that " the genus *Isoptera* is best placed as a subgenus of *Shorea* ", but this suggestion was not acted upon by Foxworthy in 1932. From consideration of the floral anatomy I am in entire agreement with van Slooten concerning the desirability of including *Isoptera* in *Shorea*. The flowers are essentially similar to those of *S. Guiso*, *S. ochrophloia*, *S. collina*, *S. atrinervosa*, and other species belonging to the section *Eushorea* Brandis. Moreover, Desch's studies show that the wood anatomy agrees with that of the section *Eushorea*. I would suggest that the relationship with the section *Eushorea* is so intimate that subgeneric separation is hardly justified.

The Barbata group of Shorea. One of the most distinct groups in the genus *Shorea* has been designated the section *Eushorea* Pierre ex Brandis. Within this section, however, there are several species which differ somewhat from typical *Eushorea*, and seem to form a natural subdivision of the section. To this group of species I am giving the name *Barbata*. Members of the *Barbata* group differ from typical *Eushorea* in having ovate or globose flower buds (elongate in *Eushorea*); shorter, broader petals; usually more numerous stamens; and bearded staminal appendages and anther cells (usually sparsely ciliated in *Eushorea*). In the Malay Peninsula the *Barbata* group has three members, *S. glauca* King, *S. laevis* Ridl., and *S. Maxwelliana* King, while the following may be mentioned from other territories :—

Ceylon—*S. Dyeri* Thw. ; Burma and Thailand—*Shorea* sp. n.¹

Borneo—*S. laevifolia* (Parijs) Endert.

I would draw attention to the floral description published by Foxworthy [*Philipp. J. Sc.* 67 : 299 (1938)] under the heading *Shorea Malibato* Foxw. Clearly this is a description of flowers of the *Barbata* group, but it is based on two collections made by Elmer in North Borneo (21653 and 21713) which are not *S. Malibato* Foxw., but *S. laevis* Ridl.

The status of the *Barbata* group is uncertain. Certainly it is not worthy to rank as a section of equal rank to *Eushorea*, and it is possible that intermediate forms will be discovered that will bridge the apparent gulf between it and typical *Eushorea*.

¹ Working at Dehra Dun in 1937 Mr. Parkinson named this species in manuscript after myself, but the description has not yet appeared in publication.



Plate 7 *SHOREA PACHYPHYLLA* Ridl. ex Sym.

Shorea pachyphylla Ridley ex Symington, sp. nov. *Shorea pachyphylla* Ridl., ms. in Herb. Kew (1931) ; Durant, Report on the Forests of Brunei ; 41 (1933). **Plate 7.**

Species *S. stenopterae* Burck et *S. Martinianae* Scheff. inter alia affinis, sed bracteolae caducae, foliis late-ovatis, crassioribus, fructus calycis laciniis longioribus, valde distincta.

Branchlets rather coarse, minutely fulvous stellate-lepidote, markedly wrinkled and tending to be angled when young ; buds large, flattened, subfalcate, stalked ; stipules evidently large but caducous, leaving amplexicaul scars (not seen). *Leaves* broadly ovate or subrotundate, shortly blunt-acuminate at the apex (usually damaged), rounded or subcordate at the base, from about 14.0 x 11.0 cm. to 30.0 x 23.0 cm. (average about 18.0 x 14.0 cm.), glabrous, markedly coriaceous, usually drying a light yellow-brown colour on the under surface, concolourous or lighter and with a greenish tinge on the upper ; midrib not elevate on the upper surface, elevate and furrowed on the lower ; main nerves about 10 pairs, faint on the upper surface, prominently elevate on the lower ; nervules joining the main nerves in close, wavy, parallel lines, invisible on the upper surface, faintly visible on the lower ; petioles rather thick, from about 3.0 to 5.0 cm. in length, stellate-lepidote, wrinkled when dry, slightly thickened and rugose in the upper portion. *Panicles* axillary and terminal, racemose, short (up to about 8.0 cm. long), cinereous stellate-hairy ; branchlets bearing 2 to 4 secund flowers ; bracteoles caducous (not seen). *Flowers* probably 1.0 cm. long in mature bud, sessile. *Sepals* tomentose outside ; three outer ovate-oblong, blunt ; two inner considerably smaller, ovate-acuminate. *Petals* contorted and tomentose on the portions exposed in bud. *Stamens* 15, of three heights, arranged in the usual manner ; filaments broad and flattened at the base, narrowing abruptly about the middle, anthers broad, 4-celled, the posterior cells slightly smaller than the anterior ; appendage to connective a filiform awn slightly longer than the filament and anther, minutely setose towards the apex. *Ovary* ovate-conical, glabrous or with a few short hairs ; stylopodium represented by a slightly thickened portion bearing a band of hairs at the base of the style ; style slender, cylindrical, about as long as the ovary, glabrous ; stigma minute, sparsely minutely hairy. *Fruit* winged, very shortly stalked, almost entirely glabrous ; calyx segments woody at the base, embracing the lower third of the nut ; three large wings about 14.0 x 2.75 cm., blunt, about 10-nerved ; two small wings similar but only about two thirds as long, 1.0 cm. broad, about 7-nerved ; nut subovoid, about 3.0 x 2.0 cm., pointed at the apex and crowned with the slender stylar remnant, glabrous and glaucescent except at the tomentose apex developed from the stylopodium.

This species was originally collected by Haviland near Kuching, Sarawak, in 1893. The collection, which bears rather fragmentary inflorescences, is represented in the herbaria at [1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Kuching, Kew, and Buitenzorg, but it has never been described. In 1931, Ridley examined the Kew sheet, giving it the very appropriate name *Shorea pachyphylla*, but the description has never been published. Foxworthy collected it again in 1908 and D. Caroll in 1922, but most of the additional collections are recent ones from Brunei. I had hoped to get good flowering material before describing the species, but this has not yet been obtained: fortunately Haviland's specimen shows all the essentials.

The affinities of *Shorea pachyphylla* are clearly with *S. stenoptera* Burck, *S. Martiniana* Scheff., *S. Pinanga* Scheff, and other species in the section *Pinanga*, but the vegetative characters are so distinctive that there is little likelihood of confusing this species with any other.

Collections examined :—

BRUNEI: Forest Dept. F.M.S. 28684, 30556, 35594, 36994, 37102, 39632, 48252 to 48254.

SARAWAK: Haviland 2228 (Type of *Shorea pachyphylla* Ridl. ex Sym. in Herb. Kew.); near Kuching; 20th January, 1893; flower buds. Field notes—"large tree".

Also—Foxworthy s. n., June 1908; *meranti sibu* (leaf and twig only: the fruits are of *Dryobalanops*); D. Caroll 23 (7173); Forest Dept. Sarawak A0573 and A0071.

DUTCH WEST BORNEO: bb. 18,387.

The species here described as *Shorea pachyphylla* is a tree of the coastal swamp forests of western Borneo. In Brunei the name *kukup* seems to be well-recognized, while near Kuching, Sarawak, it has been called *urat mata*, which is the established name for *Parashorea Malaanonan* (Blanco) Merr. in North Borneo. *Kukup* is common in the vicinity of the Seriah oilfields, in Brunei, where the timber has been used for flatform decking and other purposes. The timber is a heavy red meranti and a limited number of tests show that it is better in all strength properties than any heavy red meranti so far tested.

CORRIGENDA.

Gard. Bull. S.S. 10, pt. 2 (1939), p. 377, para. 3, line 3—omit "*S. singkawang* Miq."

l.c. 8, pt. 4 (1935), p. 282, line 16—for "sympodial", read "cymose".

- PLATE 1. A. *HOPEA MONTANA* Sym. [Drawings based on Forest Dept. F.M.S. 32257 (leaves) and 51654 (fruits)].
 B. *HOPEA JOHORENSIS* Sym. (Drawings based on Forest Dept. F.M.S. 47085).

Plate 2. *HOPEA GLAUDESCENS* Sym. 1, flowering twig. 2, part of branchlet of panicle showing flowers in three stages. 3, flower bud. 4 and 5, outer sepals. 6, 7, and 8, inner sepals. 9 and 10, stamens. 11, ovary and stylopodium. 12, section through ovary and stylopodium. 13 and 14, mature fruits. 15, nut, sepals removed. (Drawings of 1 and flower parts based on Scortechini 1929; 13, 14, and 15 on Forest Dept. F.M.S. 16271). *Scale applies to 1, 13, 14, and 15 only.*

PLATE 3. *HOPEA KELANTANENSIS* Sym. 1, flowering twig. 2, branchlets of panicle showing bracteoles and young flower buds. 3, flower bud. 4 and 5, outer sepals. 6, 7 and 8, inner sepals. 9, petal. 10 and 11, stamens. 12, ovary—sepals and petals detached. 13, section through ovary. 14 and 15, mature fruits. 16, nut of mature fruit. 17 to 20, embryo. 21 and 23 ventral cotyledon. 22, dorsal cotyledon, 24, placenta. 25, pericarp. 26, germinated seedling. 27, view of first whorl of leaves from above showing stipules. (Drawings of 1 and flower parts based on Forest Dept. F.M.S. 50533; 2 on 50528; fruits and dissections of fruit on 50603). *Scale applies to 1, and 14 to 27 only.*

PLATE 4. *HOPEA POLYALTHIOIDES* Sym. 1, branchlet bearing very young fruits. 2, immature branchlets showing velutinous twig. 3, immature fruit. 4 and 5, outer sepals from 3. 6, 7 and 8, inner sepals from 3. 9, immature fruit—sepals removed to show ovary. 10, section through 9. (Drawings of 1, and 3 to 10 based on S'pore Field No. 21342; 2 on Forest Dept. F.M.S. 35760). *Scale applies to 1 and 2 only.*

PLATE 5. A. *VATICA PATULA* Sym. (Drawing based on Forest Dept. F.M.S. 33640).
 B. *VATICA HETEROPTERA* Sym. (Drawing based on Forest Dept. F.M.S. 51658).

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EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS OF COL. NAHUIJS.

“ Brieven over Bencoolen, Padang, het Rijk van Menangkabau, Rhiouw, Sincapoera en Poelo-Pinang, door den Lt. Kolonel Nahuijs, Oud Resident aan de Hoven van Souracarta en Djoejocarta.”
Te Breda, XDCCCXXVI.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

The “ Letters of Col. Nahuijs ” contain much of interest to students of Malayan history, but the book is rare and not easily accessible. Especially interesting are contemporary references to Raffles, my admiration for whom prompted this amateur translation.—*H. Eric Miller.*

PREFACE.

To My Friends.

Repeatedly encouraged by you, my friends, to make more generally known by printing them my letters about Bencoolen, Padang, the Kingdom of Menangkabau, Rhiouw, Singapore and Poelo-Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, I have only given effect to your requests with great hesitation, because I apprehend that these my letters, once in print, might also get into the hands of strangers, from whom I could not expect indulgence as I was sure of from my friends and which my work stands in need of. At the time of bringing together and communicating by way of letters, impressions which had been jotted down on the spot, I was suffering from a serious and lowering illness which robbed me of the capacity adequately to revise them; and at present when, thanks to my restored health, it should be an opportune time for polishing up what has been so imperfectly put together, I am bowed down through the loss of my dearly loved better half under a calamity, the weight of which I feel but cannot describe, which makes it impossible for me to concentrate as I wish to

The letters are addressed to His Excellency, the Lieutenant-General and Lieutenant-Governor of the Netherlands Indies, 'de Kock, the man whom I am proud to be able to call a friend of my early youth, who, although having greatly outstripped me in the way of honour and fortune, nevertheless has always, during more than 25 years, retained the same warm and faithful interest in all my affairs; the man who, by reason of his outstanding services, uprightness and honesty of heart, has nearly as many friends and admirers as he has knowledge, who has always been a favourite of his superiors and who has been worshipped by those under him; whose name has become immortal in the annals of Java through his courage and daring generalship which gained the victory over Palembang; and finally through his uprightness and behaviour can fairly be described as *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. To whom could I better submit my observations for judgment and who could better guarantee you that what I have written down, however imperfectly, has nevertheless been communicated according to the best of my judgment and in good faith?

Note.—The 'Spanish piaster' is frequently quoted in these Letters. Milburn in his "Oriental Commerce" published in 1813, says in the section re Bencoolen, "Accounts are kept in Spanish dollars, termed piasters. The Spanish dollar is always valued at five shillings sterling in the accounts on the Coast of Sumatra."

BENCOOLEN, 10th December, 1823.

On Saturday, the 29th November, breaking daylight surprised me and my companions with an enchanting view of Sumatra's West Coast, of a long chain of high connected mountains, amongst others also the so-called Sugar Loaf, a very distinctive mountain named after its shape and which is situated a little inland in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen.

A gentle but favourable wind brought us before mid-day within sight of the establishment, which with its white walls, houses and fort has an agreeable appearance.

The roadstead of Bencoolen is 8 miles from the shore and a very open and insecure anchorage for ships, for which reason most seafarers during the north-west monsoon anchor their ships fore and aft between the channels near a shoal close to Rat Island. Rat Island lies 7 miles W.S.W. of Fort Marlborough and measures barely a quarter of a mile in circumference. On it there is a Government warehouse, a Government pilot and an official of the Harbour Department, with some deportees. It is not uncommon during heavy north-westerly winds that contact between the island, the anchorage and the mainland is interrupted for many days together.

A visitor stepping ashore at Bencoolen finds there no difficulties, unpleasant custom examination or vexatious delays, which are encountered not seldom at other places and which are the natural consequences of import and export duties, which are here unknown. The situation of the establishment on close inspection is very attractive and makes a pleasant impression. The houses of the Europeans all have an upper storey, the lower part being built of stone and the upper of wood, by reason of the frequent heavy earthquakes. Some houses are roofed with attap, others with a sort of shingle made from the bark of a tree which is found in large quantities on the Poggie or Nassau Islands eighty to ninety miles N.W. from here. The houses are not close together but decently spaced, like those on the Koningsplein outside Batavia, and lie behind white walls 6 feet high which run uninterruptedly from one compound to the next. Government House is very agreeably situated in the middle of an English pleasure garden and small park; from the upper rooms one has an extensive view seawards over the Roads and Rat Island, Poeloe Bay and Buffalo Point, and one sees the other houses forming, as it were, a semicircle round it.

The old Government House is situated nearer to the sea. In front of it is a very magnificent monument in memory of the late Mr. Parr, Resident of this place, who was murdered by the natives eighteen years ago. The lower rooms of the old Government House are used as military offices and the upper ones mostly as guest rooms for visitors. From these one gets a delightful view

over the sea and a great part of the town. The Government Offices, Council Chamber and Treasury are combined in a very good building facing Government House.

The Chinese quarter is in the north-westerly part of the establishment. Therein are no nice, but mostly tumble-down houses, which indicate very little prosperity, as is in fact the case. Most of the Chinese are poor. They are not as industrious as ours in Java, or perhaps have not that spacious and open field and the opportunity to make good use of it. There are between six and seven hundred of them. They are described as vagabonds and bad people, and the manifold criminal activities in which they have been involved appear to make it probable that they have not been defamed. The best of them are occupied in agriculture and supply the market with vegetables.

Amongst the public buildings I must not forget to mention the very nice small church, where Episcopalian service is held every Sunday and Feast Day at 11 o'clock in the morning by a Baptist teacher or missionary.

This Christian tolerance reflects credit on both Christian denominations. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the same teacher preaches in Malay. The church has a very good organ and some young girls and youths form a choir, giving a lead in the singing of psalms and hymns. Even in this little church the Englishmen have introduced their favourite punkah.

The roads in Marlborough are broad and beautiful and are kept in the best order by a number of criminals condemned to chains. These evildoers are, as in Java, each separately chained. After 7 o'clock one can see no Europeans on foot in the street. Buggies and palanquin carriages with one horse are in general use and except for a barouche belonging to the Lieutenant-Governor I have not seen any other kind of carriage. Sedan chairs such as are in use on the West Coast of India are not employed.

The establishment at Bencoolen was prior to the year 1714 situated six miles further north; but unhealthiness of the site caused it to be transferred here; but there is general agreement that it would have been still better and more advantageously situated some eight miles further south; where Poeloe Bay would have afforded a safe anchorage and where an even terrain made the place attractive for a European settlement. In the neighbourhood of the present establishment there are many ravines, hills and valleys, in which latter the water gathers and is unable to get away, which is the cause of unpleasant dampness and bad for health. Of the fort I can give you no detailed description, as I have only seen it from the seashore, where there is a bastion with nine embrasures. It is said to be very weak. It is of no practical utility to ward off a landing, because no enemy would be so foolish as to undertake that in the neighbourhood of the fort, but would

be much more likely to try that in Poeloe Bay under cover of his ships, which could ride there close in shore. A great variety of broad good roads make attractive the neighbourhood and surroundings of the establishment. In the morning between 6.30 and 7 o'clock and in the afternoon between 5 and 5.30 one is certain to meet three-fourths of the European inhabitants, men, women and children, in palanquin carriages, buggies or on horseback. A very attractive road twelve miles long runs from Fort Marlborough to Pamattam-balan, a Government coffee, nutmeg and clove plantation. Lieutenant-Governor Raffles has here a very good country house where he sometime stays.

Everything that grows here is in perfect order, neither pains nor expense are spared. Coffee thrive here most luxuriantly, but what care is not bestowed on it ! I have seen numerous young trees which are protected by attap screens against sun and wind. The landscape at Pamattam-balan is mountainous and is somewhat similar to some stretches of Java, but lacks the charm which we in Java have in our rice fields and shady kampongs. Running water and population, the two principal means whereby a country is brought to prosperity, are here scarce ; from Marlborough to Pamattam-balan I have only discovered one very unimportant little stream and except for the European plantations I have only seen three small kampongs. Houses in these kampongs are built rather high above ground, like those in the Batavia and Preanger Highlands. The indigenous population is considered to be a very lazy and indifferent race of people ; this characteristic is attributed to special reasons, but above all to the forced delivery of pepper, the abolition of which up till now does not appear to have made them any better men and is not likely to in a hurry. The Government endeavours to make good the shortage of population and above all of industrious people by bringing in people deported from the West Coast of India. Sumatra's West Coast is for these people much the same as New Holland (Australia) is for British criminals. The same plan of administration as that in force at Port Jackson (Sydney) seems to me to be in force here. The Lieutenant-Governor has divided the deportees into three classes. To the first belong those who have continuously during a very long time given proof of mending their ways ; they receive in addition to clothing, food and tobacco, one Spanish Piaster per month, enjoy the same rights as free native inhabitants, have the protection of the native law courts and are able to bear witness before them. Quite often they are freed from all work and are given leave to settle down and to work for their own account, even to build, for which purpose they are granted a piece of land free.

To the second class belong the so-called doubtful cases, that is those who within a short time show good behaviour and lead one to hope of their steady improvement; they receive in addition to clothing, food and tobacco, half a Spanish Piaster per month.

To the third class belong the new arrivals from the West Coast of India and those who by reason of bad behaviour have been degraded from a higher class. These receive nothing beyond tobacco, food and clothing.

Those entirely beyond improvement belong to no class, but are in chains and employed on hard labour, such as the making of roads or other works at Marlborough or on Rat Island.

Even amongst these deportees, particularly those of the first and second classes, a certain amount of prosperity is noticeable, as a result of orderliness and thrift.

Certain of these deportees hoard small sums of money, which they not seldom lend out to the natives at the usurious rate of 25% per month. According to information which I obtained here authoritatively, the usual rate of interest amongst the more substantial natives is 5% per month. Most of the deportees have one, two or three cows, some even eleven or twelve. They sell the milk and butter to the European settlers.

In order to encourage useful work and agriculture the Government allows to the planters on the establishment a small number of deportees, provided the planters are resident on their estates and keep a watchful eye over them.

I could tell you a lot more about these bad people were I to go into further details as to the wise and constructively benevolent regulations which have been laid down concerning them, but I will not go further into that.

Apart from the deportees, who are very useful to the planters, there is a second not less serviceable class of people to be noticed. I refer to the Manghiri, that is a debtor whose labour is covenanted for debt. In Java we would call him pledged. Just as in most parts of the Indies, so also here the creditor has, on default by the debtor, rights over his person or labour. The condition of the debtor was therefore not much better than that of a slave; for so long as he had not paid off his debt his labour must continue without being reckoned as payment or reduction of his debt. This labour was treated, as it were, as interest on the capital and the Manghiri was frequently transferred by sale from one owner to another, but these unfair and inhuman customs have been changed for wiser regulations under the government of Sir Stamford Raffles. According to these new arrangements every free man can sell his labour to whom he will for a definite number of years but never longer than ten; and contract for his labour for more than but never less than Rp. 10. per year. A debtor cannot without his own free and full concurrence be transferred from the hands of one to the hands of another and he must receive food and clothing from his master or creditor. All arrangements between the Manghiri and his creditor are not-binding, but without effect unless they are properly registered before a magistrate.

Then there are also a considerable number of Manghiris who are not free natives and who have of their own free will bound themselves for a debt, but who are slaves from Bali, brought in here on the sly in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor. These people have been sold for Spanish Piasters 45 to 50 and registered by the buyers as Manghiris. Such proceedings are in direct conflict with the strict laws against the import of slaves, but these people who have been brought in in this way cannot be treated otherwise than as slaves, because they have been removed by force from their own country, and not they but their inhuman transporters are deriving for themselves the value of their future labour. If the Balinese of their own free will come to hire themselves for a number of years to Europeans, then that would deserve every encouragement; but as these people have been forcibly removed from their homes, families and fatherland, just as happened when the scandalous slave trade was in vogue, the transporters should be treated as slave dealers, which in fact they are. I know one of the most prominent planters, who during last year had thirty of this kind of Manghiri registered. Poor helpless abandoned children may be adopted as Manghiris under official registration. Any such who are adopted in childhood when they reach the age of 14 are bound for so many years of labour as they have enjoyed maintenance.

Apart from the Manghiris there are a small number of free natives working for the planters on daily or monthly wages, on whom one cannot place such reliance because they frequently go away when work is heaviest and leave their employer in the lurch; they are in addition very lazy. Those who are not Manghiris hire themselves for Sp. Piasters 3. per month in addition to 8 bamboos of rice. Each bamboo holds 8 lbs. and 40 lbs. cost in times of plenty Sp. Piaster 1.

The so-called Kaffers or Madagaskars, and Mosambiques, the descendants of the Mosambique slaves, who barely sixty years ago were imported here for account of the English Company and who were freed in 1818 by Lieutenant-Governor Raffles, hire themselves on similar terms to the planters. Such of their womenfolk as hire themselves get Sp. Piaster 2. and 5 bamboos of rice per month.

The Chinese, although sometimes also working in the plantations, seldom hires himself, but generally contracts for an agreed sum with the planters for a specified job of work, as, for example, for the planting or upkeep of a certain number of trees or the clearing of a piece of ground. He frequently does cultivation on his own account.

After so long a description of the workers I should now tell you something about the work itself, that is the cultivation. Every possible encouragement is given by the British Indian Government to the agricultural development of this establishment.

Anyone willing to open an estate can get the land for a very small sum and, as I have already mentioned, a number of workers free of charge. The produce of the planters is free of all export duties and is admitted in all harbours in British India without payment of import taxes. Most of the crops of Bencoolen during last year were bought by the Lieutenant-Governor on account of the Company, payment being made for nutmegs at the rate of Rp. 240 and for cloves at the rate of Rp. 300 per picul, a price so excessive that the same could be obtained nowhere else. Such an advantage is not likely to come the planters' way this year, because this unprecedentedly dear purchase resulted in a loss of more than 50% and, as Mr. Raffles himself told me, has not met with the approval of the Company. The crops are estimated this year to amount to between 50/60,000 lbs. of nutmegs and 12/15,000 lbs. of mace, as well as 15/18,000 lbs. of cloves, a quantity greater than is required for the yearly trade of England. The expense and difficulty of raising these spices are so great that when the price of the produce is cheap the plantations, in my belief, can hardly remain in existence. The first nutmegs and cloves were introduced here in the year 1796 and the first crops were gathered in the year 1803; yet eighteen years after this introduction, which consisted of 850 nutmeg trees and 66 clove plants, not one of these remains alive. In 1804 new ones were imported to the tune of 22,000 nutmegs and 7,000 clove plants. The nutmegs are planted at a distance of 30 feet apart; care is taken that the plantation is protected against wind on the north and south sides by high trees; the ground intended for the trees is first of all loosened, a hole is dug 3 feet in depth and width, then filled with one-third cow dung and two-thirds burnt earth. The nutmeg tree requires fresh manure each year and must during the first five years be well watered, every other day in dry weather. According to the age of the tree a manure of different proportions is required and after five years the manure consists of half cow dung and half burnt earth. In the eleventh and twelfth year one-third burnt earth and two-thirds cow dung is in use. All the planters have to keep a large number of cattle in order to have plentiful supplies of manure. Some of them implement this with Javanese Kadjang cake. One reckons here on the nut trees coming into bearing in their sixth or seventh year and reaching full bearing in the fifteenth year, yielding then usually 4 lbs. of nuts and 1 lb. or 1½ lbs. of mace. Harvesting continues throughout the year but most fruit is gathered in September, October, November and December. In April and May the harvest is smallest. After the preparation and cultivation of the ground, for upkeep alone one requires per 1,000 trees 10 Chinese or Bengalese, or 12 Malays, along with 50 head of cattle and two ploughs. For harvesting of the nuts four additional hands are required. According to the calculations of Mr. Lewis, one of the most knowledgeable of the planters, each nutmeg tree will have cost Sp. Piasters 5. until it comes into bearing. The capital sunk by Europeans in the

nutmeg and clove industry (in Bencoolen ?) is estimated to have reached the sum of Sp. Piaster 436,000 in 1820 and the amount sunk by the natives to Sp. Piaster 30,000. The calculated value of the European plantations in 1821 was about Sp. Piaster 445,437, which seems to me a very small increase when one takes into account that the laying out of plantations was started in 1805. This insignificant increase leads me to expect not much good from the nutmeg and clove speculation. The fact that two planters in a very short time have lost, the one of them Rupees 70,000 and the other Rupees 20,000 in this culture, and that a plantation when put up for sale on the death of the planter or for other reasons seldom fetches as much as the cost of development, confirms me in my opinion.

The clove tree is also planted at a distance of 30 feet but requires only half the quantity of manure needed by the nutmeg. It comes into bearing at 5 or 6 years of age and is in full bearing at 12, seldom living beyond 20 years, whilst the nutmeg attains 70 to 80 years. The clove tree only gives two crops in three years and sometimes only one in two years. Each picking yields 7 or 8 lbs.

This little sketch of the cultivation of nutmegs and cloves at Bencoolen will, I hope, be not unwelcome to you, who know so much about our cultivation in the Moluccas and will enable you to make some comparisons which, I believe, cannot fail to be in our favour.

Coffee cultivation is beginning to be taken up by more and more people in Bencoolen and what I have seen of different plantations leads me to believe that the same will do well here. In place of Dadap which does not thrive here, they plant as shade tree for protection of the coffee bushes Pisang, Palma-christi and Toerie. The coffee planter reckons the crop of each tree at 2½ lbs. per year, but from what I have seen of coffee in Java I believe that he has put his figures too high and will, in my opinion, have to be well satisfied with half as much.

In sugar there appears to be little speculation and there is only one sugar mill here, but that has been laid out on the best lines following that of the West Indies. Mr. Winter, an old resident of and sugar planter in Jamaica, owns it. The mills have iron cylinders which are arranged not vertically but horizontally. The sugar cane does not grow so high as I have found it in Java, but is thicker and has more juice. It stands sixteen, sometimes eighteen, months in the field before it is cut.

The sugar produced by Mr. Winter is better in colour and quality than the best Java sugar ; each picul costs him from 2½ to 3 Spanish piasters. He makes yearly between three and four thousand piculs. In the neighbourhood of this sugar plantation I have seen the greatest number and best rice fields (sawahs)

near the village of Bentiring, five miles to the east of Fort Marlborough. The land there is alluvial and is often flooded by the river Bencoolen. The sawah fields are not, as in Java, brought into good condition by ploughing, but they merely chase a team of buffaloes several times through them.

Most of the paddy is planted on high and dry land called ladangs and the industry of the native is so low that he only cultivates for his own needs and brings nothing to market. This is the reason why the food so necessary in the Indies is imported from abroad. Most of the rice comes from the West Coast of India, being preferred here to Javanese rice, but the Bengalese who have been in Java prefer the latter. The import of rice is reckoned to be more than 2,000 tons. The price of rice is at present $4\frac{1}{2}$ Sp. piasters for two maunds, that is for 160 lbs. In cheap times one pays not more than $3\frac{1}{2}$. A koyang of rice contains 45 and a ton $13\frac{1}{2}$ piculs.

In the months of September and October many natives with their whole households quit their villages and go into the wooded and high lands, which they clear of timber and prepare for the sowing of paddy; the value of the land is so small that they usually pay nothing for it to their head men, or at most a very small proportion of the crop. After the harvest in March the villagers return homewards. They rarely cultivate the fields longer than two years, sowing a third crop on fresh and newly prepared ground. The low value of the land is a consequence of the small population, which is attributed to various causes, such as the monopoly which existed with the consequences attached thereto, the frequent occurrence of smallpox, now much reduced by the introduction of vaccine, and to the infrequency of marriages. Marriages must only be rare in a country where there is but little money and the bride has to be bought from her father or from the family at a price of 60 Sp. piasters. This high price, which now can only be paid by very few, leads me to think that this land formerly was much richer. The existence of this custom, which is so detrimental to the Company, has the result that many of the men who desire to get married go to other distant lands, where wives are not so costly and are more easily obtained, in order to find a spouse and often settle down there.

Not seldom, but in fact mostly, the purchase price of the bride is not paid to her father at once in full but in instalments on credit, consequently it is not unusual to see a grandson working in order to pay for the ransom or purchase price (called *jujur*) of his deceased grandmother. Many young daughters, it is said, have an aversion to matrimony because if they are married they are burdened with the heavy work of housekeeping and labour on the land.

The cultivation of pepper is by far not so large as it was in former years. Compulsory delivery has been done away with by

Lieutenant-Governor Raffles. During the existence of this compulsory delivery to the Company, Bencoolen, reckoned from Moco-moco in the north to Crooi in the south of Fort Marlborough, delivered to the same more than 200 tons per year, which were paid for to the natives at the rate of 5 Sp. piasters per picul ; now the Company contracts at seven to eight Sp. piasters per picul and cannot get here more than 40 tons per annum.

The northerly districts of Natal supply under contract 200 tons of pepper per annum to the Company and 30 piculs of camphor, which latter is purchased at fifteen to eighteen hundred Sp. piasters per picul. In the Bencoolen districts camphor is very scarce and I am told that over the whole of Sumatra there is no or very little teak to be found. Instead of that a timber called Kajoe-marabao is used, which is really very like teak but in its wet state is heavier in weight.

The Tamarin tree, although growing here wild, is very scarce, hence the fruit is high in price and is largely imported from outside.

Kajoe-bissie, or Iron-wood, which I have seen in superabundance in Borneo but which does not grow in Java, is here very common.

Indigo and cotton are seldom cultivated by the natives, which is surprising because both do well here and are so necessary for clothing.

Numerous quadrupeds and birds which are unknown in Java are found in Sumatra, amongst others the elephant and tapir. The natives do not understand the art of capturing elephants and making them tame and serviceable.

The tapir when young is of different colour than when grown up. The one I saw at Buitenzorg belonging to His Excellency, the Governor General Baron van der Capellan, was black or dark coloured in front and grey or tawny behind ; and the one which I found here young and which was so tame that it could be let loose in the house, was black with white spots over the whole of its body. The peacock, which is so plentiful in Java, is entirely unknown in Sumatra.

From what I have already told you about the limited amount of cultivation and the small population, you will have gathered that the trade of this place must be very small and what there is of it shows an adverse balance to Bencoolen.

The primary necessities of life, rice and salt, are mainly imported from outside, as well as piece goods which come from Bougies, Java, Bengal and Europe, and also tobacco and coconut oil, in spite of the fact that there is no scarcity of coconut palms.

The articles of export are very few ; spices, which are mainly consumed in England itself, are not sufficient to be taken to

foreign markets and will, as I believe, never be able to compete with those from the Moluccas. The export of pepper is small ; coffee is not yet available ; three to four thousand piculs of sugar is all.

In addition Bencoolen on account of its situation is on the whole not suitable ever to become an important place ; it has a very poor harbour, and you will be, I do not doubt, fully convinced of its little importance.

During the time that the English have been in possession of Java they have been in a position, which they in no sense neglected, to confer many advantages on this place (Bencoolen) by sending deportees here from Java instead of to places which have come back into our hands.

But what could be done for the moral improvement of the people has certainly been tried here by the able Mr. Raffles, who has therein been helped in an appreciable manner by conscientious missionaries and with the co-operation of European settlers. In all places and districts where the English have any influence and say, native schools have been established where the youth has been instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic and in general useful knowledge. The school in the principal place, Marlborough, in which I met as head and supervisor a missionary, Mr. Ward, has already more than 160 pupils. The order, regularity, cleanliness and propriety which I have noticed there exceeded everything that I have seen of this kind, and do the greatest credit to the founders and those who are carrying on the work. The tuition is that of the Lancaster school. The Malay scholars are divided into ten and Bengalese into three classes.

The nature of the natives is*stated to be very different to that of the Javanese. The principal past-times of the latter, as for example, the Gamelang, Serimpies, Bedoios, Wayangs, Rongins and Tandak, are here entirely unknown. Besides the Sumatrans appear to be lazier and at the same time more difficult to govern, possessing a spirit of independence and rebelliousness that we do not find in our Javanese. This is perhaps the reason why Governor Raffles has so much difficulty in finding people who are inclined to be appointed as district chiefs.

Their incomes must be very small and unimportant with a people having so little inclination to work and so little disposition to tolerate extortion. These were formerly derived from a tax on pepper and a tithe (one-tenth) on the buffalos. This has since been done away with and the headmen enjoy only a part of the fines levied, which I consider a wrong arrangement because the authority who inflicts the fines is directly interested in them.

Bencoolen has only three such native headmen. Every kampong has its chief, whom the villagers choose from amongst the older people. Small affairs are disposed of by these village

headmen, from whom there is an appeal to the Pangerang Court, of which the Lietenant-Governor is president and on which some of the Europeans sit as magistrates.

The priests have no definite income. They subsist on the presents they receive on the occasions of circumcision, marriage and death. Often a pious native will allocate to him a tenth of his paddy, a goat, sheep or buffalo, and on every ten Sp. piasters which he receives two pennies.

The whole population of Bencoolen reckoned from Indra-poera in the north to Crooi in the south is estimated at 80,000 souls and that of Marlborough and surroundings 12,000, in which are included European soldiers, Javanese, Bengalese, Chinese, Malays and Madurese. Amongst the latter is a descendant of a prince of Madura, who, some fifty years ago, was banned from there or fled.

The rivers of Bencoolen are four in number, the Sillabar, the Bencoolen, the Sungei-etam and Sungei-lama. The two first named, although obstructed at their mouths, are navigable in small boats further and deeper inland. In sight of Bencoolen, barely 30 English miles inland from Port Marlborough, is a high mountain. There is the source of the river Musi, a stream which runs into the Palembang river by the Moera-bliti.

That the cost of living in Bencoolen is very high you will have deduced from the limited resources of the place. Rice, salt, oil, butter, cows, sheep, buffalos, pigs, ducks, geese, fowls, and servant's wages, all these are substantially dearer than in Java. Horses which we get there for 30 Spanish piasters are sold in Bencoolen for 100 Spanish piasters. The natives of these districts do not know them and those which are in use here have been imported from the north of Natal and other places. The horses in Java, which in size and build are very similar to the Sumatran ones, are less strong and less adapted for this climate, at least that would appear to be because Mr. Raffles has lost in one year 32 horses brought from Java.

The climate of Bencoolen is considered very unhealthy. The agreeable atmosphere and moderate temperature, which seldom rises higher than 82° Fahrenheit and sometimes goes down to 76°, as well as the fresh appearance of Europeans and natives, should bear witness to the healthiness of the place, were it not for the fact that many unexpected deaths indicate the contrary. Sir Stamford Raffles has within five years lost eight members of his family, amongst them four of his children, and in addition twelve European housemates, and of all the officials whom he found here five years ago not one remains. The influence of the southerly wind which is so welcome to us in Java and deemed so healthy, is considered here to be very harmful, as is also the slightest exposure to the sun.

The revenue of Bencoolen is very small and expenditure very appreciable. Land rents, import and export duties, and forced labour are unknown here and only two monopolies are leased: the exclusive sale of opium and of arak and rum. The whole consumption of opium is not more than six or seven chests per annum. The import is actually somewhat greater, but a good deal is exported again in native prows. During the administration of the Netherlands East Indian Company illicit traders took hundreds of chests of opium from here. The expenditure exceeds income by an amount not much less than £90,000.

The Government of Bencoolen is in certain respects the opposite of the English rule of Java during the British administration. In Java a very small number of officials sufficed for a large administration and here, in Bencoolen, where I conclude that the service requires fewer officials than in the smallest Residency of Java, I have counted at least 30 on Government pay-roll.

At the present time the highest local authority is vested in the hands of a Lieutenant-Governor; but previously that was vested in a Resident and some years earlier in a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, consisting of three members in addition to the Governor. The details of how the dismissal occurred of the last Lieutenant-Governor and his Councillors during the Governor-Generalship of Marquis Wellesly, is worth recording. Without the slightest prior intimation and entirely unexpectedly, a Commissioner from the supreme Government in Bengal stepped ashore here on a certain day. The Lieutenant-Governor, when he learned of this, immediately collected his Council and sent his secretary to welcome the Commissioner, with a request to attend a gathering with a view to explaining the nature of his instructions. The Commissioner refused all communication, but went to the Fort, where he read out to the armed garrison his authority and declared the Government, which was assembled and waiting, as dismissed, without giving any reasons rendering this dismissal necessary and without bringing any complaints against the administration. The officials who were so unexpectedly dismissed and felt their honour at stake, complained about this to the highest authorities, to the Government in India as well as in England, but those complaints were left unheard for a whole year, whilst in the meantime the native population was publicly urged to step forward with any complaints or grievances they had against the dismissed administration. After the lapse of a year and after no complaints or charges had been lodged against the injured parties, the whole matter was closed by payment of compensation of £10,000 to each of the dismissed members of Council. The changes or orders of the Government in Bengal as then introduced appear to have been very little to the liking of the natives and to have roused animosity, of which the unfortunate Resident, Mr. Parr, was the innocent sacrifice. This Mr. Parr lived three miles from the Fort on the seashore at a place called Mount Felix, where he was

attacked at night and cruelly put to death ; several natives lost their lives at the same time. The wife of Mr. Parr and his secretary Murray were slightly wounded on this occasion. The only objective of the miscreants was the head of the Resident. As soon as that had fallen the gang scattered without taking anything with them. A deplorable scene of bloodshed, an inhuman vengeance most unworthy of a Christian and enlightened nation, was pursued by the English. Several villages were set on fire and devastated, and guilty and innocent put to death. A high price was put on the heads of various native chiefs, whose guilt was at most suspected but not proven, and these because the victims of revenge and base conquest. These so cruel and savage steps further reduced and drove away the native population, which was already sparse, and at the same time put it outside the power of the Government to get to the bottom of the trouble. There are people who allege that even Europeans took a hand in this and that a Bouginese chief, who is still alive, played a foremost part. Mount Felix, of unhappy memory, remained deserted and unoccupied for a long time, although always an agreeable place of rendezvous where the élite of Marlborough could be found in the evening in buggies or horseback. Mr. W. Scott has recently bought the place and is now busy building a house there.

The garrison of Bencoolen consists of 400 Sepoys and 40 European Artillerymen, which latter belong to the regular Bengal troops and are relieved every two years. The Infantry, or Sepoys, are quite distinct from the Bengal Army and are called Locals or Local Militia, being attached to the place. The officers of these militia stand entirely on their own and do not form part of the corps of Bengal or Madras officers. Their commission is suspended when they are away from their garrison and they can aspire to no higher rank than lieutenant, because captains and majors are unknown in the local militia. They are subject to the commands of a Lieutenant-General of the Bengal troops. Illegitimate sons of officers, half-caste Englishmen who are not admitted to the regular troops of the Bengal Army, and young people without fortune, patronage or prospects are usually glad to be posted to that corps. The Sepoys live in the Fort, the officers outside. The artillery is stationed eight miles from here. There is much sickness amongst the garrison, particularly ulcers of a malignant type which afflict natives as well as Europeans, rapidly turning gangrenous and bringing the sufferers to the grave.

I have already taxed your patience very severely, so that it is high time I broke off my narrative. I will therefore save up for another letter some unusually detailed reports about the Battas (the Battaks, the cannibals of Sumatra) and the Padrees or Orangputies.

THE SECOND LETTER

written from the West Coast of Sumatra on the 2nd April, 1824, describes Colonel Nahujs' arrival in Padang after a four days' voyage from Fort Marlborough. Most of this is not of sufficient British interest to justify translation in full; the following extracts will suffice.

The history of Sumatra, especially of its inland parts, is very little known, which is not to be wondered at because the Europeans who have visited this coast have only come into contact with the coast dwellers, who themselves were often foreign adventurers, and also because the object of most Christians has not been to get detailed reports about the land and people but rather to acquire wealth and riches; added to which it appears to me that a very narrow-minded policy has been pursued both by the English and the Dutch Company, who ply an exclusive trade here, which has restrained them from giving general currency to the little that they have got to know about Sumatra.

You must therefore not expect from me a very extensive historical description, but only such reports as bear some relation to the settlement of Netherlanders on Sumatra's West Coast.

The island of Sumatra is called Rajata or the Silver Island in the Puranas (Holy Book of the Hindoos). In the Vrihatcatha it is called the Naiacela, or Nalicera, and Srimat, called "The Fortunate", which has the same meaning as Srimatra. It was discovered in the year 1506 by Alvaro Talesso, a Portuguese. Houtman was the first Netherlander to set foot here. He was murdered on this coast in the year 1599. In 1601 there arrived in Sumatra Messrs. de Roi and Bikker as emissaries from the States General and Prince Maurice to the King of Achen, who in his turn sent two emissaries to Holland, one of whom died at the Hague. The Portuguese were settled for some time in Sumatra, whence they were driven out by our ancestors Schuurman and Spilbergen. Our Head Office or principal settlement on the West Coast, now established at Padang for a number of years, was formerly at Chinco or Poeloe-Chinco, where there is a very good harbour. In 1666 the Netherlanders took possession of Padang after having driven away from there the Achinese, who were at war with the head of the country, the Prince of Menangkabau. We appear at that time to have been looked upon more as coast-guards than as owners and conquerors of the territory, because the Commander sent there by the Dutch Company in Batavia also held an appointment from the King of Menangkabau as his Vice-Regent or Governor, and we have paid this Prince an annual tribute, which payment was discontinued when the princely house of Menangkabau was split up into three divisions. Our possessions along the coast which now only extend from Indrapoera to Tico, from 2 degrees 10 minutes south to 0 degrees 20 minutes south, were formerly much more extensive. Some we have lost through the

fortune of war, some of our own accord and others by deception. Passamang and Mara-Tanjong, situated to the north of Tico, we have lost by fighting, or rather by treachery when these two posts were over-run in June 1772 by the natives. The useful purpose of our settlement at Passamang was to keep open and watch over the road from Rauw Province to Padang and Ayer Bangies. Much gold formerly brought to our offices from Rauw now goes in a more easterly direction and also to the possessions of the English. The district of Baros, which furnishes the best camphor, was quitted by us voluntarily in the year 1784 ; it had become of little use to us because the English in full peace settled in the neighbourhood in 1781 at places to which only we Netherlanders had the right through our contracts with the natives. The English have sought in a ridiculous and little creditable manner to defend their unjust behaviour by alleging that if the Netherlanders had recognised the right of the heads of these places to enter into agreements, they must also be deemed to have the power to break these agreements. Ayer-Bangies, a district also in the north and well situated for trade with Rauw, rich in pepper, gold, camphor and cassia, is at present the bone of contention between the Netherlands and British administration. The latter claims to have rights over it as having settled there after the place had previously been voluntarily quitted by the Netherlanders. The first mentioned administration replies admitting having quitted the place but not having cancelled the treaty with the native chief. The withdrawal of our establishment from Ayer-Bangies is attributed by some rightly or wrongly to the intrigues of the commanders or head-men in Padang, who were dissatisfied and envious over the large profits derived by the subordinate Residents there from the trade in gold on which the East India Company granted them 5% ; they first tried to share in these advantages with them and not having been successful in that have worked on the Government in Batavia to break up the settlement, to burn the public buildings and to throw down the walls. We have thereby lost an important market for our piece goods, salt, iron, steel and tobacco.....

The kingdom of Menangkabau, which begins in the highlands to the east of Mount Ambadjang and includes the lands of Tana-Datar, Agam and Lima-Poeloe-Kottos, has submitted to the Netherlands Government since 1821 and 1822, partly of its own free will, partly under force of arms.

*Extract from THIRD LETTER from the West Coast of Sumatra,
dated 5th April, 1824.*

And now I would like to give you a short report about my journey to the not very well known Menangkabau Highlands and of my observations there, were it not that I feel constrained

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to occupy your attention with the sort of suggestions such as I have covered in my letters about Bencoolen and which are also of application here and worth touching upon, particularly the part dealing with the public and native schools and the deportees. In a place with so much greater resources of prosperity, riches and population than Bencoolen, I have to my regret not been able to find that general care for the education of the native youth as I observed in Marlborough, Bencoolen, and had the satisfaction of reporting to you. Only a few weeks ago during my stay in Padang has the Evangelical English missionary Mr. Evans succeeded by general subscription in getting together a fund destined for the use of the native youth and particularly for the service of native schools. These schools are to be run like those at Bencoolen according to the judicious Lancaster plan, but whereas this entire school establishment is not, as there, the result of general warm sympathy and of Government's care and concern, but is alone the result of the noble efforts of a single worthy missionary encouraged by a few rupees collected amongst the settlers, so I doubt very much whether these nurseries for the intelligence and moral development of the native youth are going to be maintained with the same steadfast character as those at Bencoolen which are spreading and bearing fruit, something which would be deplorable because the medium for civilising and improving the natives must be sought in the first place in improving the culture of the rising generation, whose ideas are more pliable and adaptable for instruction than those of the grown-ups, whose deep-rooted prejudices stand so much in the way.

As regards the deportees, here also few humane arrangements have been made. With such a clear understanding and benevolent heart as yours it will not be necessary for me to emphasize the desirability of introducing these and of giving the deportees encouragement for essential improvement. How useful would it not be, how serviceable to our interests as well as to those of these fallen men, if they were allowed to do agricultural work and handicrafts such as wood-work or masonry, for which everywhere in the outer offices there is such a great need. This good institution for turning deportees or prisoners to a useful handicraft I remember with pleasure to have found in the Java Preanger Regencies at Tjianjour under the Resident there, Jhr. R. van de Capellen

[After discussing the character of the Javanese very fully and quoting the opinion given to him by two knowledgeable Regents in Java that the number of Javanese cruelly and secretly killed on that island must be reckoned at least three a day, he continues :—]

You will without doubt share to some extent my feelings for the necessity to clean out of the inland parts of Java by various measures the many rovers and bad people and for the better up-bringing of the native youth to set up native schools everywhere.

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Of these schools I expect, especially in Java more than in any other place, very much good if these are sensibly managed, because the Javanese show a capacity and keenness for learning such as is absent amongst many other nations. One ought, in order to avoid giving any offence to the world, never to discuss subjects contrary to the prejudices or religious beliefs of the older ones or which could clash with the Mohammedan religion, and this should in no way prevent from leading the youth through selected moral tales to a sense of duty and to a feeling of honour and virtue. It is a particularly fortunate circumstance, of which by good generalship and judgment much assistance can be derived, that the Javanese are very fond of stories, so much so that the princes give up hours of their time to those of their subjects who can hold their attention by one or other story ; and it is a no less fortunate thing that the native of Java, much more than any other follower of Mohammed is closer to the Christians and with less difficulty changes his manners for those of Europeans, which opens to me the gratifying prospect that under the guidance of an understanding and fatherly government the time is not far distant that the Javanese, if not Christians in name, will be Christians in practice, which latter, to my way of thinking, is of more value than the former.

I do not know in how far others share my feelings about this, but it is a satisfaction to me to be able to assure you that the knowledgeable Mr. Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, with whom I spoke about these important subjects not long ago at Fort Marlborough and whose authority is both weighty and emphatic, shares my ideas.

Extract from FOURTH LETTER written from the West Coast of Sumatra on 14th April, 1824.

The Padres, or so called Orang-Puties (white men, so called because they are clothed entirely in white), have settled since barely 20 years in these regions of Sumatra and further north. In their first origin they appear to have been a company of Christian Malays who, finding how much the precepts of the Holy Koran and of the Islamic religion had fallen into general neglect, decided to set an example of abstinence not only from all that is disapproved of by the Mohammedan religion, but also from several customs which are not condemned and are peculiar to the Malays and natives. Increasing in number, respect and power, they have converted to their doctrine the chiefs and the population of various districts by force of persuasion and where that would not work by force of arms, and they have mostly taken the government into their own hands. Opinions about the nature and intentions of the Padres differ very much and are strangely divided. Some, and

amongst these the English Resident of Natal, Mr. Prince, a man well balanced and of good judgment and experience who has spent uninterruptedly 30 years of his life on the coast of Sumatra, paint the Padres in the blackest colours, asserting that they, under the cloak of religion, aim at greatness, riches and power, and that they, under the pretext of desiring to convert the Malay Chiefs and lesser natives, rob them on the slightest breach of their precepts of all they possess, household goods, silver, gold, buffalos, cattle, and not seldom also of their wives, yes, even of their lives ; which they do especially where the Malays submit to them with goodwill and without their having to resort to arms ; because in case of their subjection by fortune of war the chiefs and prominent rich Malays must atone for their resistance always by death and the forfeiture of their possessions, women and children ; whereas the lesser folk, the conquered natives, are forced to take service under their flag and to go into the neighbouring Malay districts for booty.

On the other hand others feel, and this is also largely adhered to by the knowledgeable Governor of Bencoolen, Sir Stamford Raffles, that the improvement of the morals of the Malays, which had wholly degenerated and were very divergent from the Moham-medan or Islamic precepts, was the undertaking and first object of the Padres, and say that it is surely very natural that people attached to their religion and especially native enthusiasts find themselves very much affected by the general lack of morals amongst their compatriots, who not only seldom appear in the temple but so far shamefully forget themselves that they desecrate these places devoted to their religion by indulging in the neighbourhood of them in their cock-fighting, opium smoking and gambling, and that it was necessary for the Padres by conquest to make themselves strong and dreaded, because without this strengthening of their power all their efforts to convert the erring would have been fruitless. They declare further that many of the present day Padres, feeling themselves sufficiently strong against attack, lust after no new conquests except over the still unimproved depraved morals of their neighbours. Reports received at Bencoolen, Padang and in the Menangkabau Highlands, and above all certain events communicated to me by our officers and which to a small extent have been found out by myself, incline me towards the opinions of the more favourable critics and to believe that most of the present chiefs of the Padres have no new land conquests in mind and are well satisfied to retain what they have already in their possession, especially as they have learned by experience that the Netherlands military power will know how to protect the Malays against any further attacks by the Padres.

What our officers have told me is principally the following : that the Padres of the north (of Bontjol and Allah-an-Panjang) after having lent their help and assistance to the Padres who border on our districts, have seldom done more than protect the kampongs of their allies or to attack the villages conquered by us ;

leaving it at that without further following up their victories in our own districts or in those of the Malays friendly to us, which they might on numerous occasions very easily have done and especially at the last serious surrender of ours in front of Mara-Palm where we saw three of our field-pieces fall into their hands, which they had several times undauntedly stormed notwithstanding the stiffest and most gallant resistance. The tale that the chiefs of the Malayan kampongs who defended themselves by force of arms against them have always been butchered after the conquest is, according to the testimony of our officers, unfounded. I myself have seen Malay headmen who had defended themselves against the Padres and had fallen into their hands, who were released again unharmed. It is, besides, not to be overlooked that the Malay chiefs captured in the heat of the battle have seldom been spared and that neither our European nor our native soldiers receive any quarter, just as we on our side very seldom concede it.

We were very fortunate a few days ago to conclude with the Padres of Bontjol and Allahan-Panjang, the most powerful in Sumatra and the greatest supporters of the Padres of Kappo, Lintau and the Anam-kottos, a very favourable treaty of peace of which the principle headings are: that each of the parties shall retain the villages and districts at present held by them and that we shall receive back the field pieces captured by the Padres; further that they will encourage their old allies of Kappo, Lintau and the Anam-kottos to make a treaty of peace with us. We owe this peace largely to the leadership of Lieutenant Kol and Resident Raaf, as well as to the trouble taken by the late Assistant Resident A. J. van den Berg. The first named has during his campaign in the Menangkabau Highlands everywhere earned a well deserved reputation for unswerving courage, leadership and good faith, that those amongst the Padres who are of a warlike mind see very little hope to better their affairs and to extend their possessions by war; whilst the peaceably minded find in the good qualities of the above mentioned Resident a sure guarantee for the sincerity and lasting character of the peace treaties. The good repute in which the colonel is held by the natives is not confined merely to those in the neighbourhood of our Padang lands, but extends also to those who are under English authority near Bencoolen and in other places. That, at any rate, I have been assured by the British Governor of Bencoolen and the Resident of Natal.....

The conclusion of this peace is above all so important for us because we had absolutely nothing to hope for in the way of help or co-operation from our neighbours on this coast, the English. In vain had we cherished the hope and belief that the British, whose interest in this matter was so closely bound up with our own and was one and the same because they also live at war with the Padres, should have made common cause with us against them and that we thus with the united forces could have engaged our enemies. My stay at Bencoolen had put me in a position to become better

acquainted with the attitude which the English in the present state of affairs would take up with respect to the *Padres* as to ourselves, since Lieutenant-Governor Raffles, to give me a token of his goodwill and confidence, informed me of the contents of two special letters from the highest authority in Bengal to the Lieutenant-Governor in Bencoolen of June and August last.

In the first it is said that the Bengal Government agreed entirely with the feelings of the Lieutenant-Governor, who considered that the English should not spread out further in Sumatra as elsewhere in these seas, and should not attempt to take possession of more than they are at present masters of ; that one should do one's utmost to live in peace with the *Padres* ; that one under no pretext whatever either to acquire political influence, advantage or power, should deviate from this principle, and that one on this account should not concern oneself nor have anything to do with the fate of the natives who are attacked by the *Padres*, except in those special cases where existing contracts, and thus honour and good faith, make such necessary.

In the missive of August it is stated that the Bengal Government had learned that the *Padres* had been fighting very seriously with the *Netherlanders* ; that if the latter invoked the help and co-operation of the British these should be politely refused and the reasons briefly stated which such a matter required, for example, that if the English lent us their assistance they would thereby lose their neutrality. My having communicated all the foregoing in writing to Lieutenant-Colonel Raaf prompted him more rapidly to decide to conclude a peace treaty with an enemy whom we had been so little able to damage because of his remoteness and from whom most likely less advantageous terms would have been forthcoming if he had made peace with the English and had thus had his hands freer. What was communicated about the peace-loving feelings of the English has been fully confirmed, and pending the negotiations of the forenamed Mr. van den Berg a native mission from Bencoolen visited the *Padres* of Bontjol and Allahan-Panjang in order, in the name of the English, to conclude a peace, which notwithstanding the presents brought by the mission to this day has not yet been concluded. And this lends great weight to my assumption that the first negotiator could exact the best terms.

It would perhaps have been desirable, at any rate for our interests a very good thing, but not in keeping with humanitarian ideas, if we, before concluding the peace, had been able to give the people of Bontjol and Allahan-Panjang, who in their attack at Mara-Palm repulsed us so energetically, a thorough sanguinary hiding as a lasting impression. But when I reflect that all our conquests must be bought with the blood not alone of the guilty and of natives who have taken up arms against us, but also of many innocents, women, children and defenceless old people, then I do not crave for laurels stained by murder. And this is, alas,

almost always. the case when we over-power a hostile dessa (village). Young and old, those under arms and those who are defenceless, get from the fury of our soldiers not the slightest mercy but are remorselessly put to the sword ; and our better-thinking officers only very rarely succeed in preventing these atrocities, which is also in fact frequently difficult and inadvisable because the lust for vengeance, more than the noble sense of honour and duty, induces our people, amongst who many embittered Malay settlers are included, to wage war. In a long drawn out war we experience in addition all that disadvantageous and damaging effect which I have indicated to the Government in an earlier official memorandum, which will be our inescapable lot there where we, during a long time, are under arms and in the field against a native enemy. Our minor battles, often yielding nothing of importance, daily weaken our power and extend so many lessons in warfare to our native enemies, who gradually get to know their own strength better and to fear ours less.

These consequences above indicated would be more definitely felt if we at any time were forced into war in those Malay districts whose inhabitants have always been on our side against the Padres and thereby have been in a better position to become acquainted with our method of warfare. In this knowledge they have in the meantime already made such progress that they a few weeks ago, without any support from our troops or officers, have inflicted on the Padres an appreciable defeat. Through a concatenation of unfortunate circumstances, since our taking possession of the island of Java, we have had to wage a native war on nearly all our Outer Possessions ; and Celebes, the Moluccas, Riouw, Palembang, Banca, Borneo and Padang have not been able to be brought into a state of peace and order before the blood of their natives had flowed over all these possessions.

We are for all these reasons very pleased, by reason of the peace arranged with the Padres of Bontjol and Allah-an-Panjang, to have the agreeable prospect of very soon concluding a treaty with the less powerful people of Kappo and Lintau, whereby then the whole war on Sumatra will be terminated.

*Translated Extract from the FIFTH LETTER of the Series, dated
Penang, 10th June, 1824.*

With this I take leave of Riouw to accompany you to Singapore. A few hours sailing brought us through Riouw Straits and then we had before us the mainland of India, the coast of Johore and the Johore mountains ; but it was not until the following day that we came in sight of the island Singapore and the neighbouring island of St. John.

[1941] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

In the afternoon we arrived in the Roads where we found ships of all nations, and especially many native vessels, anchored. The ships lie not far from the establishment—some are anchored less than a mile from the shore—so that one has a very fine view of the position, where most of the houses are situated close to the beach, from the Roads.

I believe that no person with any feeling can help being impressed when setting foot in Singapore, because he can now see as a seat of European trade and industry a place which only five years before was a cavern and hiding place for murderers and pirates. This impression, it is true, is considerably dimmed for the Hollander by the thought that the English are settled in a place to which only his nation had a right, but as a friend of humanity, he must prefer seeing this island in the possession of civilized Christians to it being in the hands of pirates and murderers who made the journey through the Straits of Malacca exceedingly dangerous. And, let me ask you, would Singapore not still have been to this date the same den of murderers as it was in the past had it not been taken over by the English?

In considering differences between my nation and a foreign one I always try—in so far as my weak human nature allows—to observe a strict neutrality; and how difficult this is! In fact, it is necessary by such a neutral expression of opinion to separate, as it were, from the natural and stronger associations which attach us to the interests and welfare of the motherland, and to consider ourselves for a moment not as a citizen of Holland, but as a World citizen.

As such, it appears to me that the title upon which the English base their possession of Singapore has neither right nor reason. One cannot give what one does not legally possess, and this is what the son of the King of Johore has done, who, not entitled to the succession to the throne and to the possessions of his father—having been cut off and exiled by him—has granted the Johore possession of Singapore to the English. In addition, he entered into negotiations regarding the island with the parties established there, or rather with the chief of that sea-scum, a proceeding, in my opinion, entirely beneath the dignity of any Government, but especially of the British whose power in India is so great that it would be able by the strength of its arms to clear Singapore of the pirates established there.

If the British Government, instead of entering into their contracts (valueless in themselves) with the son of the King of Johore and the head of the pirates, had driven the latter from Singapore by armed force and had established itself there, then its title of possession could have been based on the Right of War, and our Dutch Government, which had left the pirates so many years in the undisturbed possession of Singapore, would certainly not have all these strong and convincing arguments which we can now bring forward.

As I, however, well know the discernment and good judgment of the British high official to whom the English East Indian Government is indebted for Singapore, I believe I should do him an injustice if I did not add here as my feeling that the above remarks probably did not escape his wise insight, and that it was due to great necessity, perhaps to the impossibility of obtaining the necessary military strength and armed vessels, that it was not taken by military force.

As a Hollander I regret that we ourselves did not wrest Singapore out of the hands of these pirates instead of leaving them in the possession of this island which we are now disputing with the English nation. But enough of this.

The island of Singapore, separated from the mainland of Johore by a very narrow strait, is nearly thirty English miles long from east to west and twenty-one broad from north to south. The climate is healthy, but very warm, the thermometer at mid-day mostly registering from 86° to 92° . The drinking water is very good, but, especially in the case of lengthy droughts, of insufficient quantity to supply many ships at the same time. For this reason reservoirs or rain-troughs were being constructed. The soil seems to be suitable for the planting of pepper and gambier, but not for coffee. Before the occupation of Singapore by the English, some Chinese living a few miles inland earned a livelihood by planting and preparing the gambier.

Ground standing vacant is obtainable by any person without payment whatsoever. Anyone desiring it simply applied to the Resident, who thereupon issued a grant free of charge, unless the ground was owned or occupied by natives, in which case it was necessary to make an agreement regarding the transfer with the natives beforehand.

The land is mostly hilly and is thickly covered with trees. Many of the hills in the neighbourhood of the beach are already adorned with houses of various Europeans, and amongst these the most noteworthy are the houses of the harbourmaster, Captain Flint, and of the merchant, Scott.

The house of the Resident also stands on such a hill. From it one has the best view of the Roads, the Straits of Singapore and the Straits of Malacca, as well as the neighbouring islands. The house itself, however, did not attract me very much and seemed very cramped.

The roads to all these hills although very useful for carriages are not first class, whilst the lower roads leading to the houses of the Europeans are in very good order. Amongst all these one road stands out, which is almost three miles long, on the right bank of the river. This is 42 feet wide and raised at least 8 or 10 feet above the morass, leading to a very pleasant country house standing on a nice hill. This belongs to Mr. Pearl, ship's captain and owner of a pepper and gambier plantation.

Very few Europeans devote themselves to agriculture. The cost of laying out and upkeeping the plantations are also not very encouraging. Those who have acquired land must first clear it of extensive timber, which is usually done by contract with Malays who are particularly skilled and like that work. The further cleaning up and bringing into good order of the ground as well as the planting and upkeep must be arranged with Chinese day labourers, whose daily wage amounts to from one-half to one rupee.

The houses of the settlers or traders are close to the shore and are well built. Most of them are raised high above the ground and roofed with stone tiles, which are partly brought from Malacca and partly from China.

Most of the houses are on the left bank of the river, which divides the town into two parts. A few are on the right bank, where the Chinese and Arab settlement containing more than one hundred good houses is situated. There is a good bridge over the river 200 feet long and 32 feet broad.

Singapore can already boast of about thirty tastefully built European houses. These are placed a short distance from one another and in front of them runs a carriage-way, which they all make use of in the afternoons. This riding and driving appears to me to be very similar to riding around in a riding-school, because one has to go round the same circular road four or five times in an afternoon in order to make a tour worth the name.

Singapore island supplies five sorts of very good timber : (1) Kajoe Tanipies, (2) Kajoe Rungat, (3) Kajoe Damat Laut, or Kissa, (4) Kajoe Balloe, (5) Kajoe Levi Daria.

The cost of living in Singapore is very high, because the island produces little or nothing. Workmens' and servants' wages are excessive.

12 Fowls	cost	..	..	..	Spanish Piaster	5
1 Duck	„	..	..	..	„	1
1 Goose	„	..	..	..	„	6
1 Small Pig	„	..	..	..	„	6
1 Lean Sheep	„	..	..	..	„	6
A Pidgeon	„	..	..	..	..	f. 1
4 Loaves	„	..	..	..	..	f. 1

All these articles except the bread have to be imported, mainly from Malacca.

A grass cutter who cuts grass for a single horse gets Sp. Piaster 5 per month, and the coolies working for the traders, whose activities usually terminate in the early afternoon, receive per month Sp. Piaster 10.

Many servants and coolies are Chinese, whose number totals about 5,000; most of them are occupied in agriculture. The Malays

seldom work for the Europeans; they are too lazy and indolent by nature to devote themselves to a definite daily task. The Malays settled in Singapore for the most part submit to the so-called Malayan Tommagung, the former head of the pirates, whom the British Government support with a monthly payment of Sp. Piaster 700. In addition to this income of Sp. Piaster 700 per month he also enjoys certain revenue arising out of the ferrying across the river and some small charges which he levies on native vehicles and on the cutting of timber. This Tommagung is generally said still to have a very good understanding with his elder brothers the pirates and to maintain an active correspondence with them, giving them regular news of the comings and goings in Singapore harbour and the destination, cargo and strength of the different ships. The Tommagung lives with his dependents a short distance away from the European town on a site allotted to him by the British Government of Singapore, on account of the frequent quarrels and murders for which his dependents have been responsible.

Over all these people as well as over the Bouginese settled in Singapore, the British Resident has not the least authority, even when they attack the Europeans. The Bouginese are generally subject to the Prince of Johore, who has been given the title of Sultan of Johore by the English and a monthly payment of Sp. Piaster 1,300.

Interference on the part of the British administration with native affairs was to cost them dear. When a Malay ran amok and in his mania killed some people and even went so far as to dangerously wound the British Resident, Colonel Farquhar, Lieutenant-Governor Raffles desired that the body of the evil doer should be hung up on a gallows for some days as a warning to others; against which the native authorities objected on the ground that as the evil doer had given his life against other lives, all further punishment terminated. The Lieutenant-Governor, who was in possession of the body of the murderer, had that, notwithstanding all the objections of the natives, hung on a gallows guarded by soldiers, which had the effect that all the natives adopted a threatening attitude and awakened considerable fear amongst the citizens. All of them, garrison, civilians, settlers and traders, as well as the Chinese who took the side of the Europeans, were night and day under arms, and this unsettled state of affairs lasted just so long as the body was hanging up, terminating on the third day, when Mr. Raffles considered it wiser to hand over the body of the misdoer to his friends and compatriots for burial. Since this upset there has been no very great sense of security amongst the merchants of Singapore, and if one touches them on this tender spot one will most likely hear complaints about the small garrison and the limited power which the British Government in Singapore possesses.

1941] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

Two Companies of Bengalese and a detachment of 25 European Artillery must hardly suffice to ensure the safety of their people and the large values which are lying in Singapore warehouses in the way of goods, especially opium and piece goods, two valuable articles which the natives particularly prize. Many of the residents are not without anxiety that a man like the Malayan Tom-magung, tempted by the large treasure, could easily be induced with the underlings and a great many of his friends the pirates, to attack the weak garrison and citizens unexpectedly and then clear off with his booty to places where he could not easily be traced. People were hoping therefore that a good fort would be built, that the garrison would be strengthened and the port guarded by a couple of the Company's cruisers from Bombay.

As a measure of precaution the British Government after the minor dispute with the natives have ordained that nobody other than of high rank, whose names must be registered at the police station, shall have the right to go about within the European establishment carrying a kris or other weapon.

The monthly expenditure as well as the income of Singapore is very small. Expenditure amounts to Sp. Piaster 9,000 and the income as follows:—

The Dice Gambling Farm brings ..	Spanish Piaster	2,000
Opium	„ „	1,900
and the sale of Arak	„ „	800

Together .. Spanish Piaster 4,700

In the fundamental laws which were laid down by Sir Stamford Raffles on the foundation of Singapore all gambling, without exception, was forbidden and it was assumed that this would never be permitted, even though farmed out. The leasing of the dice gambling by the Resident has put up the backs of most of the good settlers, especially the magistrates, of whom many have tendered their resignation. It appears to me that one cannot deny that such gambling in a place where there are so many bad people must give encouragement to robbery and murder, and at the very least must always have the natural effect of bringing the lower-class working people to poverty and distress.

Another circumstance which makes the settlers in a sense dissatisfied with the present Resident is that he is very economical and saving with the country's funds and undertakes few public works in contrast with Lieutenant-Governor Raffles, who was not very sparing with Government money and laid it out for the public benefit and for the improvement of Singapore. So long as the fate of Singapore is undecided and it is still uncertain whether that establishment is to remain in the hands of the English it seems to me cautious and sensible not to lay out too much money on this insecure possession.

Amongst the praiseworthy installations in Singapore there is a native school, for which through individual contributions already more than Sp. Piasters 20,000 have been collected. This school is to be run in an attractive and roomy house now almost completed, and instruction is to be given there in the Chinese, Malayan, Javanese, Bouginese and Siamese languages.

To give you a slight impression of the trade and shipping of Singapore here is a summary of the ships which have arrived in Singapore between 1819 and 1822, as well as a statement of the vessels and the import and export of goods during last year—1823 :—

Arrival of Ships.

		1819	1820	1821	1822
European vessels	..	109	154	208	194
Native	..	11	33	31	45
Chinese Junks	..	0	2	4	5
Siamese	..	3	17	25	31
Total	..	123	206	268	275

Arrival of Ships in 1823.

European vessels.	166	Tonnage	..	.. 56,740
Native ships	.. 1,519	..	..	.. 20,193
Total	.. 1,685			76,933

Imports and Exports of Goods during 1823.

Imports in value	.. ..	Spanish Piasters	5,653,605
Exports	.. ..	.. ..	4,961,113

In the opinion of the harbour master or master attendant, whose statements I have followed, this value could justifiably be increased by one-fourth, thus making a trade total of Sp. Piaster 13,268,397.

Amongst the imported goods, of which I will give you on some other occasion a more detailed report when I have more time available, I noticed *inter alia* :—

Indian piece goods, value	..	Spanish Piasters	759,715
Exported	.. ..	.. ..	660,592
European English cotton goods	.. ..	.. ..	1,064,360
Exported	.. ..	.. ..	306,450

In the latter case the exports show poor relationship with the imports.

Opium imported, value	..	Spanish Piasters	1,054,625
Exported	.. ..	.. ..	889,420

This briefly indicates my judgment that "all that glitters is not gold" in Singapore. I must observe here that several goods which

are registered as exported have not been sold, but have been returned to their sources of origin. How much of the linen sent from Poeloe Penang for sale in Singapore is sent back to the warehouses in Poeloe Penang for want of buyers ?

Judging by everything I saw myself of Singapore I believe that its situation has been very well chosen for trading purposes by Sir Stamford Raffles ; but that this place could not be raised to such a state of general trading activity as on the one hand was feared and on the other hand was hoped. Do not attach too much value to appearances. The twelve English merchant houses already settled there, which for the most part are working not with their own capital but with that of merchants in Bengal, Madras, Batavia, Bombay, Poeloe Penang and England, appear to me more than sufficient, together with the Armenian, Chinese and native traders who are settled there, for the trade of Singapore ; and if a greater number, which is not improbable, turn in that direction then I consider it certain that many of them will suffer disappointment, in case that has not already happened and is happening to many. Therefore it seems to me that the authorities in Singapore make too much fuss about the trade there, going so far as if this place, to the exception of all others, was the only one in the Straits of Malacca enjoying this distinction. In an article under the title " The Native Foreign Trade of China " appearing in the ' Singapore Chronicle ', which, as you well know, is run and published by the Resident, I find set out : " Countries with which China carries on Foreign Intercourse—Japan, The Phillipines, Sooloos, Celebes, Borneo, Java, the Straits of Malacca (NOW PRINCIPALLY CONFINED TO SINGAPORE), etc." From this one is expected to deduce that the Chinese had said good-bye once and forever to the markets of Malacca and Poeloe Penang situated in the Straits of Malacca, which certainly is in no sense the case.

In order to close my already too long digression about Singapore with one last comment, may I be permitted to set out as my opinion that the free port of Singapore will not be so detrimental to our Netherlands interests as we are apt to assert or apprehend and that this place is of great advantage for general trading and for native trade in particular. It is true that this new settlement of the English is becoming the greatest competitor of Malacca in these seas, but already much earlier our trade in that place was on the decline and had to a great extent been transferred to Poeloe Penang, whence I do not doubt the same will return to Malacca through declaring that port entirely free, it being much better situated for those moving along the Straits of Malacca than Prince of Wales Island. Furthermore, it is not to be denied that the market of Singapore has become a large depot for Indian and European goods, among which Javanese and Netherlands products are dealt in such as Javanese clothes, coffee,

birdsnests, tobacco, tin, Hollands gin, liqueurs, butter and provisions. With a little more enterprise our Netherlands merchants settled in Java could, I do not doubt, double and treble the exports of Netherlands and Javanese products to Singapore, but I have noticed that there is great enquiry and eagerness to go into these suggestions; and with that I say also farewell to Singapore.

SIXTH LETTER

Written from Chinsurah in Bengal, 2nd August, 1824.

With a body exhausted by incessant and recurring attacks of fever I have scarcely the necessary strength to put together in regular fashion the notes I made about Poeloe Penang or Prince of Wales Island. However, the confidence I have in your indulgence, coupled with the realisation of the uncertainty of my life, impels me without further loss of time to put my feeble hands to the task.

In the afternoon of the 5th June we dropped anchor in the roads of Poeloe Penang, after sailing the whole day very pleasantly alongside the chains of high mountains on the island and on the coast of Kedah. Late in the evening of that same day I received a very friendly invitation from Councillor Macalister to take up my abode with him during my stay in Poeloe Penang; and already early on the following morning this kind gentleman came on board himself to welcome me and had the courtesy to take me in his carriage to his hospitable house, where I was received with true Scottish open-handedness by the estimable Mrs. Macalister. My emaciated body and my deep sunk eyes disclosed very quickly the state of my health and Mr. Macalister decided to take me up to the cooler and healthier climate of the Poeloe Penang mountain. By pulling myself together I was able two days after landing to get on horseback in the early morning and to ride slowly up the serpentine mountain-path, which is overshadowed on all sides and even in the height of the day affords a not unpleasant path for the healthy traveller or wanderer. In vain should I try to give you a description of the beautiful and surprising view which one enjoys up on the Poeloe Penang mountain; my pen and that of every other one, I believe, is inadequate for that purpose because words cannot possibly picture the grand and enchanting, yes, the truly incomparable scene which is here displayed and is so rich in variety.

At an elevation of 2,700 feet one is set down in a shady and scented garden of roses and strawberries, whence this spot has derived its name of Strawberry Hill. Below one sees alongside the many winding roads, in a pleasant valley, the country houses of the Europeans which are tastefully laid out, as well as numerous hills which mostly boast stone built houses, and in the further

distance the town and Fort Cornwallis, both of which are four miles distant from the foot of the mountain ; the roads with ships at anchor, the Straits of Malacca and the main shore of India, here called the coast of Kedah, which is separated from the island of Poeloe Penang by a narrow strait 6 miles wide.

In no place in India have I found the public buldings and roads upkept with more care than in Poeloe Penang. The variety of the latter exceeds all expectations, at least all that I have seen in our own and in English possessions in India. The whole landscape in the neighbourhood of the European establishment is intersected by these and a large number of deportees from the West of India is employed on laying out and maintaining them.

This great variety of roads, which all consist of hard sand, and notwithstanding much rain or long drought remain in good condition, has also, in my opinion, its undesirable side. They afford the rider or walker, it is true, an ample choice for his walks and excursions, but at the same time one finds usually few people on them because one goes here, another there, and a third or fourth turns his steps yonder.

Amongst the good public buildings in Poeloe Penang there is Government House, the residence of the Governor, as well as the General Hospital (both $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from the town), an Episcopal and a Presbyterian Church, the Company's store or warehouse, the Secretariat, as also a roomy house built and furnished at the expense of the Company and destined to serve as temporary residence for the admiral or commodore in command in these seas and which is often made available too for travellers when this officer is absent. In addition to the above named residence the Company also owns a country house or bungalow of the Governor and Council on Strawberry Hill and a neighbouring house there for the reception of invalids or convalescents. During my stay in this pleasant and picturesuqe place, which extended to nearly three weeks, I have discovered how well suited this is to put new life and strength into a body weakened by a hot climate and by sickness. How many valuable young lives, how many beloved sufferers might be saved if they, when attacked by a malignant fever, which is so prevalent in a scorching climate and in low lying land in India, could go and seek improvement and recovery in a cool and healthy mountain air. I myself, through my own experience, have earlier proved what a healing influence good mountain air possesses and you will certainly remember how last May in Batavia, in the midst of a severe attack of nerves and low fever, which in the opinion of my doctor and my friends threatened me with early death, I declared my determination to be moved to the Buitenzorg hills, and how you, the kindly General van Geen, and all those who stood around my sickbed, disapproved of my plan and considered it impracticable in the hopeless state in which I found myself, and how, notwithstanding the views of

all of you, but fortunately supported by the approval of my good Dr. Petit, I fled from Batavia late in the evening of the 3rd May at the risk of my life and went up into the mountains, where the better air and the good care of the competent physician Doornik brought me back quickly to the life which I nearly lost. Fortunate and blessed is the land which, like our excellent Java and most islands in the Indian Archipelago, is so rich in high and healthy ground, and how unfortunate and to be pitied are the European residents of India, especially of the low lying land of Bengal, who are without such high lying areas and so must look in vain for the rehabilitation of their undermined health and strength through a sea voyage or a trip on the river. How can a sea voyage give the same benefit as a speedy removal from a scorching to a moderate and cooler climate, because the sufferer who has made his escape to the sea or the river is obliged to live in mainly small, low and stuffy rooms? Although when in Batavia I discussed this subject with you and my friend Tiedeman and gave you both then my earnest advice in the event of unexpected serious indisposition to exchange without loss of time the air of Batavia for the more healthy of Buitenzorg, I feel compelled once again to strike the same chord, because you, as well as Tiedeman, have admitted that my advice was very good, but that a man burdened with a family and a household could only with difficulty follow it. Must then the life of a useful man be put in the scale, yes, frequently sacrificed, and must he be removed from the company of his friend and family (just as so recently Messrs. Jutting and van der Kaa, who, like myself, attacked by less violent fever, have succumbed in the hot climate of Batavia) only by reason of circumstances which make it difficult for the spouse and father, but not impossible, to leave his household at short notice? No, for sure, in critical and dangerous moments first things must come first and all half measures are wrong. Oh! had I in this moment instead of the dry scorched-up low lands on which no cheerful green is to be seen, before my eyes the high fertile stretches of Java, Poeloe Penang or Sumatra, how quickly would I have flown there and escaped the climate where the temperature daily climbs to 100° Fahrenheit and more, and where an unbearable heat as well as increasing low fever undermines my strength more and more!

But enough of this, instead of giving you a description of Prince of Wales Island I am virtually giving you a medical report about my illness. Let us therefore return to Prince of Wales Island. It is only since the year 1786, and thus not more than 38 years, that the English have settled on this island, which is situated 5 degrees 28 minutes north and 100 degrees east of Greenwich. Following an agreement with the Prince of Kedah to whom this land belonged, the same has been transferred to the British for the sum of Sp. piasters 6,000, and later, in 1800, has been added a part of the main coast of Kedah stretching 3 miles broad from the sea inland and 20 miles along the shore, for which latter

transfer the English Government has paid another Sp. piasters 4,000 to the Sultan. On the 12th August 1786 the English flag was hoisted for the first time and the responsibility of government assumed by Francis Light. On this occasion the Asiatic name of this territory, Poeloe Penang, was changed to the European one of Prince of Wales Island. It is still usually called Poeloe Penang, because it is known to the natives only under this name. The town has been given the name of Georgetown and the fort built by the English has been given the name of Cornwallis in honour of Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General of British India; whilst the stretch of mainland on the coast of Kedah transferred to the English has been given the name of Wellesley Point, or Province Wellesley, in honour of Governor-General Wellesley.

The first English administrators of Prince of Wales Island had the title of Super Intendent, changed in 1800 to Lieutenant-Governor and in 1805 to Governor. The present Governors are next in rank to the Governor of Bombay. They have, apart from him, only the Governor-General of British India, the Vice-President and Acting Governor-General and the Governor of Madras above them, whilst the Chief Justices of Bengal and Madras, the Bishop of Calcutta, as well as the members of Council in Bengal and Madras and the Commander-in-Chief in India, are ranked below them. The Governor of Prince of Wales Island is supported by two members of Council, which latter, to my surprise, are in addition charged with the duties of Collector of Import and Export Duties and Land Revenue, and the office of Warehouse Keeper, and at the same time hold the office of Magistrate, in which latter capacity both members take turns in holding a weekly court where they give judgment on the smallest disputes among the natives.

The possession of Poeloe Penang is really a liability for the English East India Company as the income of the island is insufficient to cover the expenditure, which latter exceeds the former by more than Sp. piasters 150,000 per annum. The advantages, however, which the Company enjoys from this possession for their traffic and trade to China far outweigh the comparatively small cost of administration.

[Colonel Nahuijs then tabulates the receipts and expenses for the working years 1817/18, 1821/22 and 1822/23, showing a deficit in 1817/18 of Sp. piasters 149,000, 1821/22 Sp. piasters 139,000, 1822/23 Sp. piasters 155,000. He then sets out the revenue derived from leased monopolies; population; shipping; and then continues:—]

The system of import and export duties in Poeloe Penang shows the same unstinted and enlightened principles of administration to which the English in these seas owe so much and whereby they attract all the native races to them. Notwithstanding the proximity of Singapore, which is much better situated than Poeloe

Penang for trading, the development and prosperity of this place (Penang), as above indicated, during the years before and after the settlement of the English at Singapore has not adversely affected the population, nor the import and export of goods, and has only made very little impression on the arrivals of native vessels; whilst the latter more and more sail past our ports in Java and pick up their necessary requirements in the more distant English harbours. Noteworthy and at the same time instructive appear to me a few words of a small native trader from Celebes, whom I met at Poeloe Penang and who complained to me that the administration of the former Netherlands Company had been better disposed to the natives than the present (Netherlands) one, and in reply to my question as to wherein the greater indulgence of the Company expressed itself, said to me, "Well, the Company looked upon us as her children and made everything easy, knowing well that we do not possess the intelligence of the white people, but the present big men do not know us and are angry with and suspicious of us and make it so difficult for the ignorant native traders that few of us know what they want."

That we Netherlands in general do not make it so easy for the natives as the English and treat them with less consideration I believe cannot be denied. You will appreciate that in saying this I am not referring to the native peasant but only to the trader.

The principal points of interest in the laws regarding import and export duties at Poeloe Penang are :

Imports.

- (1) All woollen goods and goods manufactured in England imported under the British flag are free of duty, as well as copper, tin, iron, steel and other metals, also ropes and ships' equipment.
- (2) All other unnamed articles from England pay $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the invoice price. Foreign ships pay in many instances double duty.
- (3) All articles from other countries, imported under the British flag 5% and under a foreign flag 8%, but the excess which the foreigner has to pay over the Englishman exists for us only in name, because the goods imported in a Netherlands or Portuguese ship are generally valued so low that the Netherlander paying on the estimated value really pays little or no more than the English importer. Also one of the members of Council in Poeloe Penang, Mr. Macalister, has put up a proposal to the effect that goods imported in Netherlands or Portuguese ships should pay no higher duties than the British.
- (4) Chinese goods in British ships 3%, in foreign 6%.

- (5) Opium, free of duty.
- (6) Grain, coins and precious stones, free of duty.
- (7) Salt per koyang 5 Sp. piasters.

Exports.

- (1) Ships' equipment, provisions, opium, pepper, spices and coffee, as well as piece goods, free of duty.
- (2) All other goods pay $2\frac{1}{2}\%$.
- (3) Foreigners pay double duty and $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on goods which have been imported in British ships duty free.
- (4) On goods transhipped in the harbour, $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ if they are dutiable.

Towards passengers and travellers the Custom House in Poeloe Penang seems to be particularly lenient and not suspicious. On my simple declaration that my 16 packages contained no trade goods these were sent unopened to the house and put on board again unopened.

As well in Poeloe Penang as in Singapore one talks much about the high duties which have recently been imposed by the Netherlands Government in Java on English woollen and manufactured goods, but most Englishmen admit that each Government has the right so to regulate and fix its duties as it considers suits its own particular interests; that accordingly the administration in Batavia has the right to tax British goods at the highest duty; but make the reservation that it is unfair and unstatesmanlike to subject to these high duties goods which were ordered or shipped at a time when earlier and lower duties were in force; unfair, because in this way even the most cautious trader, through no fault of his own, might be unfortunate; and unstatesmanlike because traders would be very shy about undertaking mercantile transactions, however circumspectly, which must always promise an uncertain result where laws are unstable and which depend on the whim of the legislator, where a speculation which to-day, based on the existing legislation, appeared to be profitable, can be turned tomorrow into a very unfortunate one through change of the law; that it was, above all, also unstatesmanlike because too much encouragement was thereby given to smuggling, which in any event is attractive and easy along such an extensive coast as that of Java.

An enquiry as to how far the juragans, or native commanders, of our coastal cruisers assist in this smuggling should, I do not doubt, give good results. In how far it has been wise and prudent to prescribe these high duties and to put them into force and thereby drive British ships laden with piece goods away from our

harbours into British harbours, as has actually happened with many of them, and thus to suffer the loss of the import duties which has not been made good by the simultaneous sale of Netherlands piece goods, I am not well qualified to judge by reason of my absence from Java. It does, however, appear to me that it would not have been entirely inexpedient if the Netherlands as well as British traders had been notified some months in advance of the forthcoming increase in the duties on British piece goods. It is, however, in my opinion very probable that a large quantity of Netherlands piece goods would have been consigned to Java at the same moment that the British were excluded from there and that consequently not so many English goods would have been smuggled into Java.

The unfortunate death of Mr. Wytman, whose brother is a partner in the firm of Wytman & Thomson, is an eloquent example of how a man of caution and industry can go under through no fault of his own. This gentleman, who came out of Java with a cargo of English piece goods, which based on the earlier Government tariff must have yielded a good profit, found himself, through the new tariff rates, so badly hit and so depressed with the grief of seeing his hopes go up in smoke and his prospective profit turned into a certain loss, that he took his own life in a moment of melancholy and despair.

A proof of the positive unstatesmanlike nature of the high tariff is to be found in a communication made to me about the smuggling traffic in British piece goods to Java appearing in letters of Mr. M., which I include:—

“ My dear Colonel,

I have just been reading a letter from a merchant at Singapore to a gentleman here, in which it is stated, that the blind policy of the Java Government, by imposing duties next to a prohibition on all English manufactures, will shortly make the fortunes of the Singapore merchants, against whom the edict was supposed to be levelled, and all of whom, previous to this order were actually in a state of ruin.

The writer of the letter states that prows are arriving daily and that they cannot supply the demand for English piece goods. Indeed as a proof of this a schooner arrived here yesterday and sailed again in the evening, loaded with goods for the Singapore market.

I need not tell you that the ultimate destination and place of consumption of those goods is your beautiful island of Java, into which they will most undoubtedly and very easily be smuggled to the loss of the Java revenue, and the evident encouragement of a traffic, which although it may

enrich a few adventurers such as the people at Singapore, cannot but be hateful to every good Government.

From my official situation I am able to assure you that it is far from the wish of the Court of Directors to give any umbrage to the Dutch Government, or encourage the settlement of Singapore at their expense ; but if their own regulations will raise this insignificant place to importance, what is to be said on the question ?

Believe me,

Most sincerely yours,

" M ".

25 June, 1824."

The foregoing confirms that our Netherlands Adam Smith (Graff van Hogendrop) has learned about the high duties, which have the effect of prohibition. But it is time that I curtailed my digression and returned to my objective of telling you what is noteworthy about Poeloe Penang and inform you about some benevolent institutions there.

Poeloe Penang has a Chinese poor-house, a hospital where necessitous Chinese, Malays and other natives to the number of one hundred are clothed, fed and cared for free of charge. This poor-house is under the special patronage of the Governor and Council, the Secretary, the Minister and the Commandant. Moreover there is here also a free school, where the Lancaster method of instruction is followed ; the pupils pay according to their means and some are admitted free. This also is under the auspices of the Government. The Governor for the time being is President of it, his Councillors are vice-Presidents and the leading officials and settlers Directors. Finally there is here an association for the encouragement of Christian knowledge, which praiseworthy object is carried out through the free distribution of prayer books to make needy persons acquainted with Christian doctrines.

Debt slaves or manghiries I have also found here. Governing these the same wise provisions are in force as at Bencoolen, and just as there, so also on Prince of Wales Island, the Government is inspired with fatherly care for these poor natives who mortgage or sell their labour, taking good care that their services are properly and fairly remunerated and that the well-to-do do not derive any improper advantage out of the unfortunate situation of the poor and needy. It appears to me even that in numerous instances the fatherly care for debtors goes somewhat too far and that the debtor is benefited too much at the expense of the creditor and that it has been made too easy for him. In one of the ordinances made by the Governor in Council I find it laid down: that a debtor, for a debt

of 10 Spanish piasters or less can only be put in prison by his creditor for a period of 60 days ; for a debt above 10 and below 20 Sp. piasters 80 days, and for an amount of 20 to 30 Sp. piasters and over 8 months, and that the debtor through this imprisonment has discharged both his debt and all legal costs. For many natives 30 Sp. piasters are riches on which he, with his family, can live more than three years, and a fortune with which he can start one or other useful trades or means of livelihood. A debtor should not be able to repay one by submitting to imprisonment of 8 months. Would it not have been fairer to compel the debtor who is unable or unwilling to repay his debt to give his labour to his creditor for a number of years according to the size of his debt ?

On Prince of Wales Island there are between fourteen and fifteen hundred deportees who are treated with the greatest humanity. It is my opinion, which I believe will be found not incorrect, that the lot of the wrong-doer as well as the deportee is in few countries better than in British India. I cannot commend the soft handling which the deportees and convicted wrong-doers receive under the English administration in India, but must disapprove all the too great consideration, even weakness, which distinguishes most criminal sentences. That evil doers which have been guilty of the greatest misdeeds such as murder, incendiarism and robbery with violence are only punished with a severe flogging and banishment, as I have observed during my stay in Bencoolen, Poeloe Penang and Bengal, will be approved of only by few. The deportees who behave well are even given leave by the Government of Poeloe Penang to go into service with the settlers. The settlers pay for each such servant to the Company a monthly sum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ Sp. piasters and to my great surprise I have found deportees admitted to the houses of the senior officials, discharging their duties alongside the ordinary household staff and only to be distinguished from them by a small iron ring on the leg by which the deportee is recognisable.

At Poeloe Penang there is no lack of good police regulations, but I believe I should be wasting your and my time if I were to set these out item by item for your information. It will suffice to speak of a single regulation from which the stranger derives the most benefit. The finest and best drinking water is supplied at Poeloe Penang. It springs from Strawberry Hill, whence it is carried by aqueducts four English miles in length to the town and the Government water tanks. In order to assure this delightful drinking water for incoming ships the natives are strictly enjoined to supply them with no other water and in cases of contravention a very heavy penalty is enforced.

From one Government regulation concerning loan banks one would conclude that the rate of interest here has risen to an appalling height. To each settler, provided that he is of good and unimpeachable behaviour, is permitted the right to set up a loan

bank against payment of 5 Sp. piasters per month to the Government, under the proviso that the owner of this bank can levy on money advanced by him on loan the following rates of interest :—

On sums of from	1 to 50 Sp. piasters . .	5% per month.
	from 50 „ 100 „ „	4% „
	from 100 „ 500 „ „	3% „
and on sums above	500 „ „	2% „

From an administration which in most other respects is so benevolent and discerning as that at Poeloe Penang, I would not have expected such a high interest rate. Would it not have been better to set up a loan bank for account of the Government than to legalise such high usury and thus to deprive the needy borrower of the opportunity to get money at a reasonable rate of interest ? This opportunity is, however, denied him because everyone not registered as a banker is prohibited from advancing any money on loan to a native.

The island of Poeloe Penang is reckoned to cover 150 square miles and is said to be moderately well built over ; the buildings are daily being added to, which is not surprising as the population is rapidly increasing. At the time it was first taken over by the English the island was well wooded and almost uninhabited except by a few humble fishermen who dwelt only on the coast. In 1801-1802 the whole population totalled barely 10,000 souls. An old tradition of the natives described Poeloe Penang as a countryside that in previous centuries was heavily populated and the numerous burial places which the Englishmen found here on their first settlement, lend much colour to the tale of the natives.

The principal products of the island are : timber, coconuts, gambier, sweet potatoes, yams, pepper, betel nut, sugar and a little coffee, which latter is not of the best quality. The land does not appear to be well adapted for this crop, at any rate in the most populous part, the northerly, which I found to be poor and sandy. Rice and paddy is supplied by the island and by Province Wellesly, although not in sufficient quantities to feed all the inhabitants there. They have begun to plant the nutmeg tree but the plantations are of too recent origin to enable one to say much about them. The trees, however, which I have observed on the pleasant country property of Mr. Brown, one of the most knowledgeable and enlightened planters on the island, were all in the best and most promising condition.

The climate is considered by the settlers to be very healthy, but one must not attach too much value to the opinion of settlers. How lustily have I not heard the former residents of the unhealthy town of Batavia foolishly praising the healthiness of their beloved town, notwithstanding the heavy daily mortality experienced during many years, and disproved by their own sickly countenances ; and how often have I not heard Bencoolen, at Bencoolen,

described as healthy by its own inhabitants, whereas the frequency of the deaths in that place left no doubt about its unhealthiness. It seems inherent in many Europeans in the Indies to consider the place where they themselves have settled as healthy, the particular district where their residence is situated as the healthiest in the place and finally to praise up their house as the healthiest of all houses in the neighbourhood. Taking into consideration the mortality as well as the general reports about Poeloe Penang, I believe that this island, although much healthier than Bencoolen and Calcutta, is from a health point of view much inferior to the neighbouring Malacca and Java. During my stay the thermometer even rose in the town to nearly 90°, whilst on the mountain it was now in the sixties, then in the seventies, but never rose to 80°. I have not told you about the beautiful waterfall of which Poeloe Penang is rightly proud, because the weak state of my health has not allowed me to visit the same because part of the journey has to be done on foot.

And now I have told you about this island the little that I have got to know about it, sufficient, I hope, to encourage you if you sail through the Straits of Malacca to stop at Poeloe Penang, which I can particularly recommend because I have found there residents, and above all the goodhearted Mr. and Mrs. Macalister, who are exceptionally hospitable.

A PROPOSED CLASSIFICATION OF MALAYAN POLISHED STONE IMPLEMENTS.

By H. D. NOONE, M.A.

Field Ethnographer, F.M.S. Museums.

I

· II

III



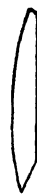
The Axe



The Adze



The Centered-Edge Adze



TERMINOLOGY.

In describing a polished implement the following basic terminology is used:—

The *Butt* is the end opposite to the *working-edge*, which is the sharpened end formed by the intersection of the two broad *faces* of the piece. Any other part of the perimeter is called *margin*.

According to the shaping process, the immediate zone of the intersection to form the working edge may be (in longitudinal section):—A. convexo-convex, (axe). B. plano-convex, (adze). C. plano-bevel, (chisel). D. Convexo-bevel, (centred edge adze). E. concavo-convex. F. concavo-bevel. (Except for "hollow-ground" forms E & F do not occur.)

The *transverse* sections are secondary considerations in the classification presented in this paper.

The chief purpose of these notes is to record certain details regarding the main types of polished stone tools found in North Malaya and to introduce a provisional classification of these pieces. The classification is mainly based on their *symmetry* or *asymmetry*, (as shown by their *longitudinal section*) and on the form of the cutting edge. The inspiration for this paper came from discussions of general principles involved in a study of the problem of early edge-ground pieces with my father, Mr. H. V. V. Noone.

With a few exceptions the transverse sections of the Malayan polished tools are smaller at the butt end, and many cutting edges are more or less curved.

No pieces have been found in Northern Malaya with a true working edge at each end, such as occur in Indo-China.

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Most of the implements are completely polished, but some are only semi-polished¹ thus showing evidence of having undergone a preparatory shaping by flaking and chipping, whilst others identical in shape to the polished tools are only flaked and chipped. It cannot be said that these latter pieces have not been made use of in the unpolished state, and so they are treated, together with the polished and semi-polished pieces, as coming within the scope of this paper.

The many varieties of stone implements found would seem to show that individual taste in form, finish and material was freely exercised in Malaya. In consequence there are pieces which do not altogether conform to any general classification. In some instances re-edging has changed the original form. Again, the majority of the specimens are surface finds and have been subjected to not only natural wear and tear but to subsequent re-working and maltreatment by the finders. Some of them have recently been used as hones, hammers, pounders, touchstones, etc. by Malays and others.

CLASSIFICATION.

For want of any definite indications of manner of usage, such as socket holes, and for convenience of study, it is now proposed that these polished implements should be named and classified as follows. It should be noted that the terms *axe* or *adze* are not meant to imply that the implements were only used as such :—

- I. AXE. The two broad faces of the implement are *symmetrical* in longitudinal section and meet to form a cutting edge which is approximately in the medial plane. (see Frontispiece).
- II. ADZE. One of the two broad faces of the implement is flat and making it *asymmetrical* in longitudinal section and forming a cutting edge which is in the same plane as the flat face. (see Frontispiece).²
- III. CENTRED-EDGE ADZE. In this case the longitudinal section shows one of the broad faces is rounded, and the other flat. In spite of this asymmetry, the abrupt bevelling of the flat face has slewed the cutting edge from the flat plane towards the medial plane of the implement. (see Frontispiece).

¹ The series of edge-ground pebbles and other implements, usually referred to as "Proto-neoliths" are, on account of their cultural significance, in a special class. With these we are not here concerned. Spear points in polished slate, etc., and similar pieces, possibly copies of metal implements, are also outside the scope of this paper.

² Some specimens of this class are shaped to form a curve between butt and working end. (see Fig. D. 3).

These three main divisions appear in the six forms listed below with their varieties :—

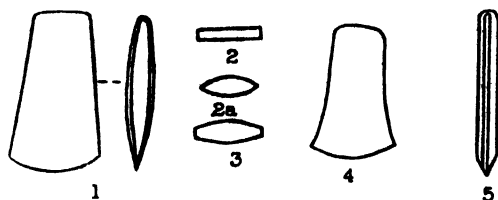


Fig. A The Axe

AXE FORM. This implement is of a kind found in many parts of the world. It was made in various sizes. Usually it is flattish and wide, and the transverse section may be rectangular or lenticular (Fig. A. 2 and 2a), or again like a truncated lens, (Fig. A. 3). Occasionally a specimen is found with the working edge formed by a bevel on each face. (Fig. A. 5). A few specimens shew convergence of sides towards the working edge, and may be surface-finished by "pecking". Some of the better finished pieces are splayed out to a "fanned" edge, (Fig. A. 4) possibly due to the influence of metal implements. It may be remarked that the pointed-butt axe so common in Southern India is not among the types found in Malaya.

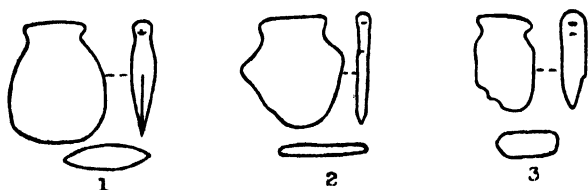


Fig. B The Notched Axe

NOTCHED AXE FORM. An uncommon series in Malaya of somewhat varied outline sometimes made of schistic or laminated stone. The distinctive feature is the notching at the butt end, possibly for convenience in attaching a handle, such as that made with a pliant withe, sinew and mastic. An unusually fine specimen (like Fig. B. 1) made of hard stone, was found at Rasa (Selangor) and, except for the waist, is reminiscent of the Australian lenticular stone axe. The cross section of most Malayan pieces of this form is, however, more rectangular; some pieces are actually like a shaped tablet (Fig. B. 2).

Several specimens were found in the shell mounds at Guak Kepah (Fig. B. 3), some of them having very blunted working ends. A remarkable feature is that a large proportion of these pieces show extensive fracturing or wearing of one end of the working edge, such as might result if used as an adze or hoe, the significance of which is not at the moment apparent. Considering the material and condition of some pieces, their particular use is

problematical. What may be early examples of this tool are certain specimens found in Tonkin by Mdlle. Colani at Lang-Vo,¹ Lang-Vanh² and Da-Phuc³ and by M. Fromaget and Dr. Saurin in Haut Laos at Tam Nang Anh³. Similar forms are found in the South of the Sahara (where one is of pick shape): South Libyan Desert: El Kab, Egypt: New Mexico: Guiana: Ecuador: Ancient Peru, (Bronze): Jamaica: Solomon Islands: Australia: Botel Tobago (Formosa): Mongolia: Manchuria, and Japan. A very large example two feet long, was found in the Saleyar Islands, and smaller pieces at Galumpang (Celebes) and Banka Island.

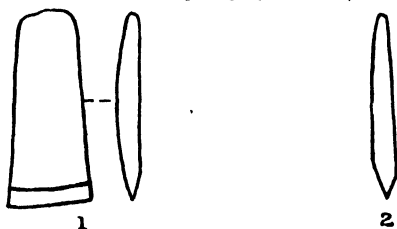


Fig. C The Centred-Edge Adze

CENTRED-EDGE ADZE FORM. Although the cutting edge is more or less in the centre plane the longitudinal section of the implement shows the two broad faces are not, as in the axe, symmetrical; one of the faces being almost flat till just near the cutting edge, where it is bevelled to the edge (Fig. C. 1 and 2). Some specimens of this type may have been formed by the re-edging by a bevel of a simple adze. The bevelling may be an innovation (or variation) in grinding technique. In place of the ordinary to and fro motion in line with the long axis the tool may have been held at an angle to the "hone" and the movement of grinding; or else the "hone" was applied like a file to the fixed implement.

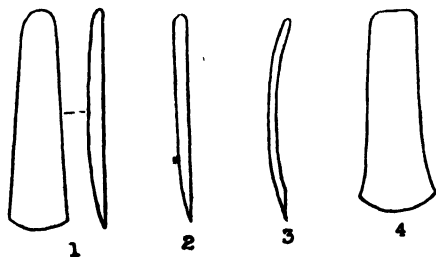


Fig. D The Simple Adze

SIMPLE ADZE FORM. A somewhat common type in North Malaya of a typical adze form. Some specimens, usually

¹ No. 7, Plate XI. "*L'age de pierre dans la Province de Hoa-Binh*", 1927. Two similar forms may be seen from Indo-China (Nos. 36, 640 D. and 36, 640 C.) in the Hall of Far Eastern Prehistory, Raffles Museum.

² Pp. 262 and 265. Tome XXIX (1929) *Bulletin de Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*.

³ *Compte Rendue Congres Prehistorique de France* (Toulouse-Foix, 1936) Page 822.

left unpolished, are very large and heavy, up to eighteen inches and more, and stout enough for use in tilling soil.¹ It is usually narrow in proportion to length; and the transverse section, diminishing in size towards the butt, is of rectangular, or sometimes trapezoidal shape. The longitudinal section usually shows one face flat and the other curved to form the cutting edge (Fig. D. 1). On occasion both faces are parallel, with one rounded off near the cutting edge (Fig. D. 2), and the cutting edge may be "fanned" or "splayed out" (Fig. D. 4). The use of especially fine material has enabled the workmen of a few examples to so curve the piece as to give it a concavo-convex longitudinal section (Fig. D. 3). The simple adze form is said to have been found in Jashpur (Chota Nagpur).

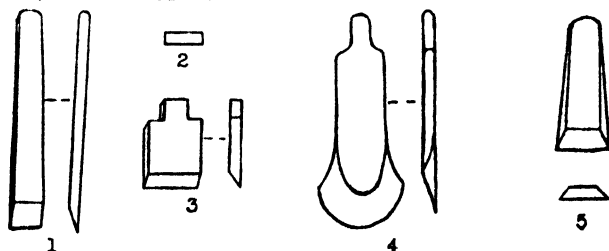


Fig. E. Chisel Adze Form

CHISEL ADZE FORM. This usually narrow tool is perhaps the commonest form of polished implement in North Malaya. The type is said to be peculiar to South-east Asia and Heine-Geldern calls the shouldered "butt" variety (Fig. E. 3) the typical Austro-Asiatic tool. The Malayan form is longer without the shoulder (Fig. E. 1). Fragments broken off, some two inches from cutting edge, are sometimes found. All angles are carefully finished, other distinctive features being the *bevelled*, chisel-like working end and the parallel faces. The cutting edge is sometimes slightly curved. The transverse section is occasionally trapezoidal (Fig. E. 5) in place of an accurate rectangle; in a few pieces it is almost square.

A well-known small variety of this tool has a "shouldered" butt and is usually squat (Fig. E. 3), but only a few examples of this have been found in North Malaya.² The smallness of some specimens of this form prompts the idea that they may be more in the nature of a tip (for a socket?) than a complete tool, and this may account for some of them being ground almost symmetrically like the axe. An unusual duck-bill variety with sloped shoulders

¹ M. Paul Levy in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*—Tome XXXVII—1937—Fasc. 2. Page 479 describes a small schistic axe (or scraper) on which is scratched what he interprets to be the design of a plough. This shows the use on the plough of a *coudre* and it is as "coulters" that these large pieces could have been used.

² It is said to appear in its multiform shapes as the thunder weapon of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain figures (Mitra).

(Fig. E. 4) was found in the Ulu Tembeling by Mr. T. R. Hubback.¹ This is in many ways an important and interesting tool as it would seem to combine the "shouldered" butt with the curved and "fanned" cutting edge. It may well be a comparatively recent production.

The chisel adze form is said to have been found in Columbia (South America). The "shouldered butt" form is reported in Ecuador (South America), Korea, Formosa, Japan, Philippines, South Yunnan, Annam (Tonkin), Cambodia, Celebes, Hongkong, Chota Nagpur, Assam, Cachar and Burma.

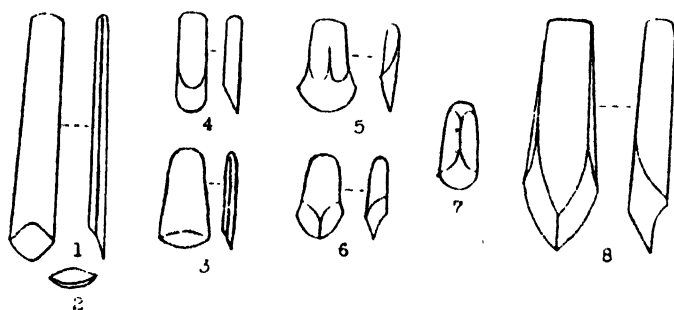


Fig. F The Gouge Adze

GOUGE ADZE FORM. This tool is not very common and yet it is even more typical of the Malayan Peninsula than the plain chisel adze. The characteristic feature is the working edge which in addition to being salient (either rounded or pointed) is also more or less arched on the other plane, and is often due to hollow grinding² as in an ordinary steel gouge (see Fig. F. 1, 6, 8). It is seemingly a tool prepared for special work, as witness the most striking variety of the form, the "beaked" (see Fig. F. 8), which is side-bevelled on a cant so as to form a pointed working end. Up to date no finds of this "beaked" variety have been made north of Surat in Thailand. The pieces are frequently stout and heavy, the transverse section being sometimes a square, and the material often hard and close grained. They are seldom found showing signs of usage and are often in mint condition. It may be asked whether they were used as currency; one was found in a "hoard" at Tanjong Malim. Another important variety is a long narrow gouge-like tool (see Fig. F. 1) of which the transverse section—rarely completely circular—but generally lenticular, with, on occasion, a medial ridge along the upper face; (the ridge at the

¹ Now in the Hall of Far Eastern Prehistory, at the Raffles Museum, Singapore. In the same Hall may be seen two similar forms from French Indo-China (36.660 A and 36.666 A). A possibly related form is 36.664 C.

² It may be pointed out that this form of edge makes its appearance on bone tools (found by Collings at Bukit Chuping and Tweedie at Gua Madu) and also on the flaked bi-faces produced by the old percussion-technique before the polishing technique was adopted.

point of the "beaked" variety is perhaps a development of this feature). The working edge of this form is more often rounded off, the under surface then being hollow-ground. One variety (perhaps the earliest, as a few pieces of roughly similar form, but of a date before any polishing appeared have been found) is broad but thin, sometimes short in length and without the ridge (see Fig. F. 3): others, more developed, are smaller with sides rounded off (Fig. F. 5 and 6). A modified variety was found in Java (Fig. F. 7).

The many varieties, the symmetry, the choice of fine material and the application of hollow grinding, imply that a considerable development in technique had taken place. The makers of these tools were among the finest craftsmen of polished implements.

An Hypothesis of the Development of Polished Implements in Malaya.

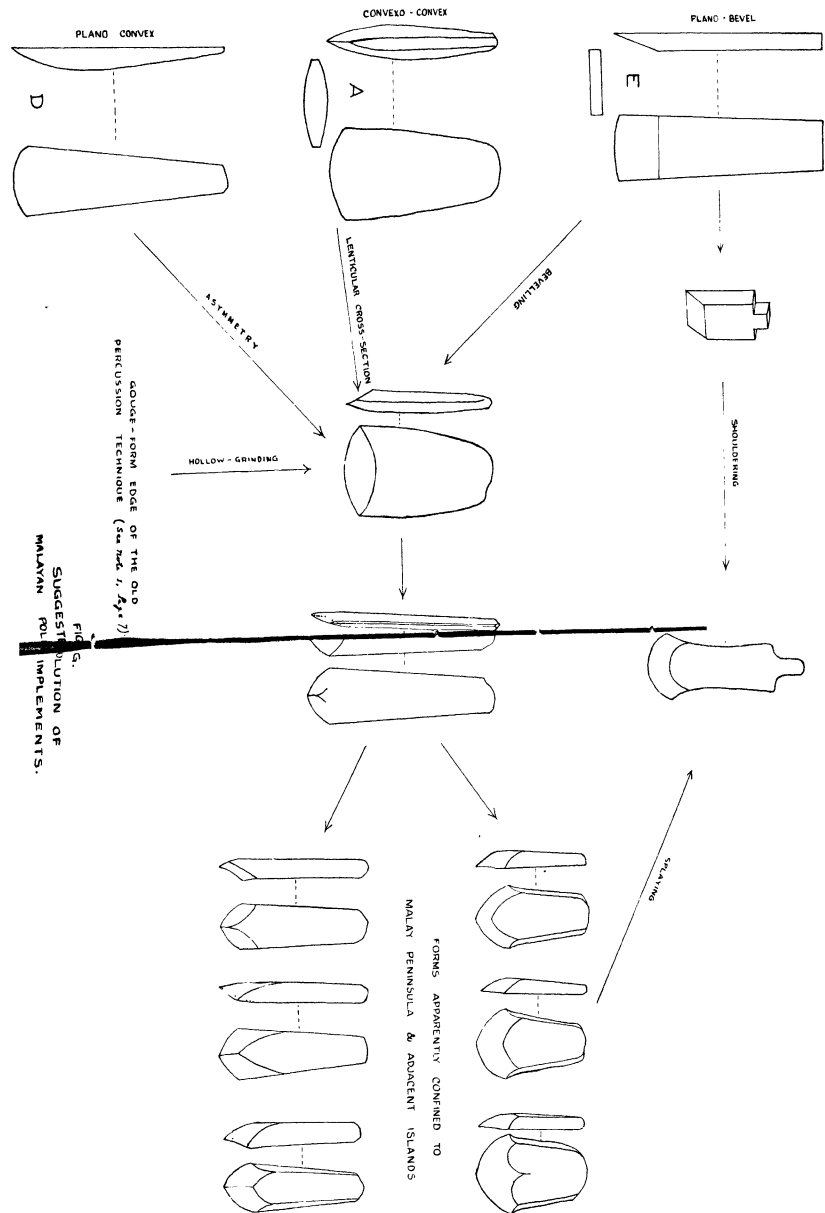
In the above classification it will be noticed that certain forms, hitherto treated as distinct, have been classed together, such as the "Gouge" and the "Beaked". This has been done mainly because in general form and technique they appeared to be more or less related.

It would appear that (a) the chisel type of tool (with its essential rectangular section—see Fig. E) with working edge formed by a more or less steep *bevel*,¹ is either of local or of *Northern* (Bacson?) origin, and (b) the simple adze type (see Fig. D) is with its asymmetry and plano/convex edge a form more characteristic of the *South*. In the Malay Peninsula, where the gouge form of edge was already of old standing, we would seem to have these two techniques meeting a third *i.e.* the symmetrical world-wide simple axe form of implement with its convexo/convex edge (see Fig. A). It is conceivable that these forms and techniques acting upon one another have produced the many other varieties we find in Malaya,² the Centred-Edge Adze being a notable example. Figure G presents a possible series of modifications according to this theory of influences (the lettering is that used in the classification *supra*).

The notched axe (Fig. B) appears to have been a temporary "Archipelago" introduction and to have had little, if any, influence on an already developing industry.

¹ The basis of this classification being the *character* of the *working edge*, the "shouldered" form of the butt-end takes a secondary place insofar as it concerns only the method of hafting.

² Malaya seems to have functioned as an assembling centre of methods of tool production as practised by surrounding cultures.



A FIND OF POTTERY SHERDS ON A BEACH NEAR SEPANG, SELANGOR

By H. D. NOONE, M.A.

(Plate VIII)

During August, 1940, Mr. F. C. Fogh, Manager of Teluk Merbau Plantations Ltd., near Sepang, South Selangor, forwarded to the Selangor Museum some sherds of pottery which he had recovered at intervals from the sea beach at low tide. The credit for this extremely fortunate find belongs, therefore, to Mr. Fogh.

On September 8th 1940, I visited the area and inspected the beach site, guided by Mr. Fogh.

At this point there appear to be no signs that the sea has been encroaching on the land, and yet the sherds lay exposed on the sand, or just underneath the surface. The part of Teluk Merbau Estate nearest to the beach is a coconut plantation; between this and the sea lie, first a belt of dry flowering shrub growth, and then a narrow belt of mangrove.

Mr. Fogh informed me that *no* beads had so far been recovered. It seems unlikely that the sherds are the vestiges of a settlement such as Tanjong Rawa, Selinsing, Perak (I. H. N. Evans. J. F. M. S. Vol. XV Pt. III pp. 79-117) but rather, that they are part of the cargo of a wrecked boat which have been washed in from somewhere out in the bay. Among the finds must be recorded a bone. This was recovered in three portions all much blackened by immersion in sea water. There is every hope that further investigations would be very fruitful. Especially if the direction of prevalent currents were ascertained, and the shallows there could be dredged. It is thought, nevertheless that the sherds are important enough typologically to warrant a brief notice of them at once.

In all, fifteen pieces have so far been recovered; most of them are either so small, or have suffered so much from rolling and abrasion in sand that they need not be included in the present preliminary report.

Six significant pieces have been selected for brief notice here: they are all figured. I have shewn these pieces to Mr. Burgess of Ipoh who has some experience of pottery making and he has very kindly supplied me with the following description of them.

"No. 1 is a sherd of especially *light buff* earthenware, low-fired, "opened" with a coarse micaceous material. It is covered with an "all-over" impressed pattern, formed apparently by a single unit pressed from the outside, whilst the damp clay was supported on the inside with a pebble. (Shallow depressions on

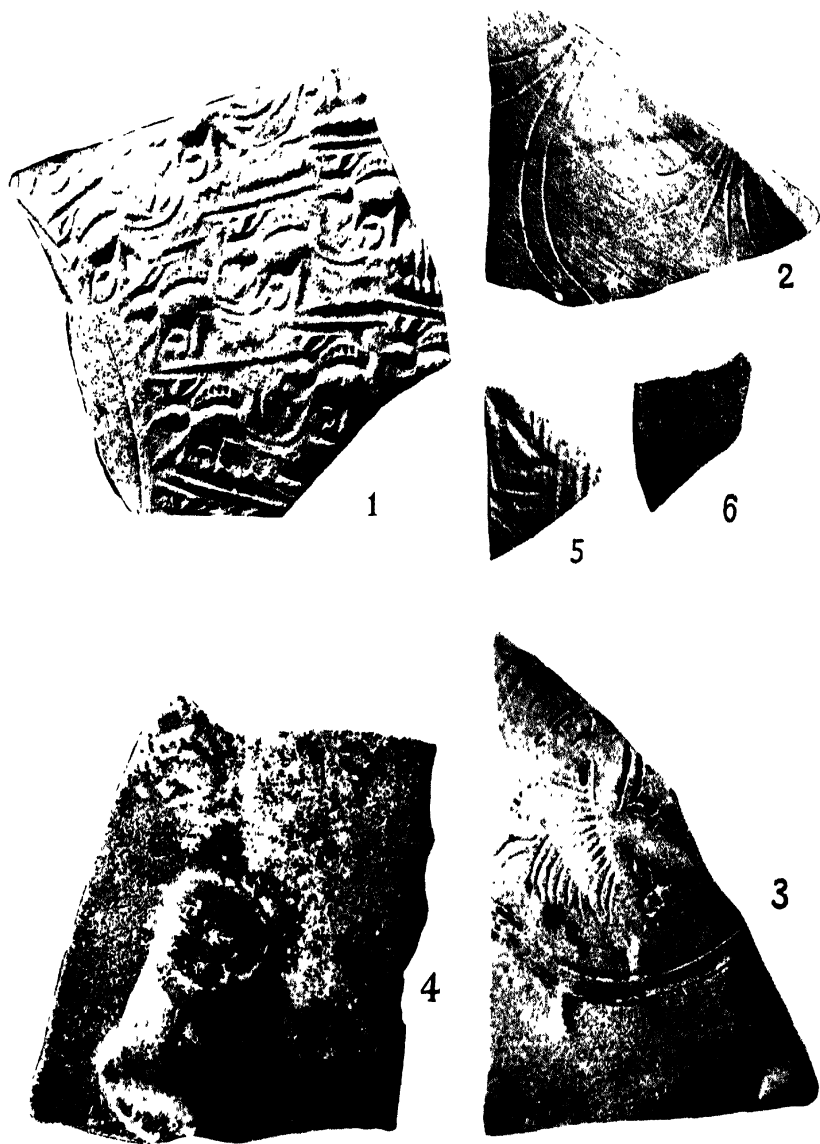


PLATE VIII. POTTERY SHERDS FROM SELANGOR.

the inside show the position of each impression). The motif which results is a freeze of elephants.

No. 2 is also a sherd of light buff earthenware, though more highly fired than No. 1 and finer in texture. The sherd is incised with a sprig inside a "surround" of scallops. Usually incised patterns are made on pots when in a "leather-hard" condition but in this case the pot, judging by the texture of the incised lines, was in a considerably harder condition, a fine scratch clearly visible was made most likely by the tool slipping on the hard surface.

No. 3 is a sherd of fine-grained *grey* earthenware with a "flame" pattern "stamped" on it. There are signs of what appears to be lettering at the sharp angle of the broken sherd. Traces of a *brown* glaze (probably made of wood or plant ashes and ferruginous clay or earth as used in local Chinese potteries to this day) still remain in the *incised* lines.

No. 4 is a *greyish* earthenware, rather similar to No. 3 but coarser-grained. It was fairly hard-fired (say 1100° to 1200°). More glaze remains also than in No. 3 and this is *brownish-black* though of a similar type to the above (No. 3): it is fairly evident that this has been worn off by drifting in the sand where it was found. Probably, the pot originally had four handles, one of which is attached to this sherd, to hold a carrying-cord.

A finger print, most probably a thumb print, is visible at one point of attachment of the handle—the handle would of course be attached after the body of the pot was made.

No. 5 is a very small sherd of *buff* earthenware opened with a coarse silicious material. The decoration which remains has been much rubbed on the sea-bed, but it was probably impressed with a wooden stamp.

No. 6 is also a very small sherd. It is of *grey* earthenware, opened with coarse black material of soft texture, possibly charcoal. There is an *incised* decoration of dotted-circles and straight lines".

Pending further investigations, the nature of these finds indicate some associations with an ancient coastal trade from the north of the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

SEA DAYAK CARVING

By E. BANKS.

(PLATES IX — XXII).

The source of the many designs illustrated here is rather obscure but it is believed they were prepared many years ago by the late Rev. E. W. Howell of Simanggang and they have lain in the Museum ever since. They consist of drawings on paper now so fragile that the originals do not lend themselves to direct reproduction: in addition the Museum possesses twenty boards, about two feet long and eight inches broad, on which are carved in relief many patterns identical to those depicted here on paper: they were drawn by a Sea-Dayak, in the Undup River and on account of their similarity to the drawings, are not reproduced here.

Dr. Haddon has recorded elsewhere (Man. 1905 No. 39) that the textile designs of the Iban women are quite distinct from the patterns carved by Iban men on bamboo and wood, the women employing a great many patterns depicting men and animals, as well as flowers, the men keeping to flowers or natural phenomena and avoiding representations of men or animals, very much as do Malays, who are so prevented by religious influences, as the Dayak men certainly are not. In the accompanying drawings animal representations are unusual, save for a few references to caterpillars, one to a centipede and one to a deer's tongue (*dila rusa*—not reproduced here). They therefore bear out Dr. Haddons contention and animal carvings among Sea Dayak men seems to be mainly confined to the Hornbill and the Dragon used in religious festivals, unlike the Kayans, Kenyahs and Kelamats who make frequent use as well of the Dog, the Prawn and other animals in their wood carvings.

The Sea Dayaks are a very literal sort of people and this is expressed in their carvings as in the rest of their lives. Natural phenomena appear to have caught the eye and in Plate IX are depicted a number of drawings of clouds. Fig. 1 represents no particular conventional design as far as can be ascertained, but in Fig. 2 occur a series of separate, upright and inverted, interlocking "fleur-de-lys", with all that they imply. In Fig. 3, the settled clouds have been truncated and enormously expanded at the expense of the inverted pattern, with which they are now in direct contact and in Fig. 4, the drifting clouds, the modified, once upright, fleur-de-lys patterns have been inclined rightwards

¹Custom has sanctioned the spelling "Dayak" but there is no other support forthcoming for such a misspelling: whether the origin be from the word *daggak*=a fisherman or the more generally accepted *daya* or *darat*=inland, signifying an inhabitant of the interior, such as *dayaks* are, the vernacular spelling *دایک* seems to clinch the argument, the initial "a" being included rather at the expense of the final one.

to indicate direction. In Fig. 5, the increasing clouds, the fleur-de-lys patterns as they lie on their sides have merely been duplicated to indicate numbers: in Fig. 6, successive clouds, the patterns have been attenuated to portray stringing out in succession. Viewed from an upright position they strongly recall the throat tattoo pattern usual in most Sea Dayaks.



1. Niga, the clouds.



2. Niga, the clouds.



3. Niga Dudok, the settled clouds.



4. Niga Rarat, clouds that drift away.



5. Niga Betankir, clouds that keep increasing.



6. Niga....., clouds that are in succession.

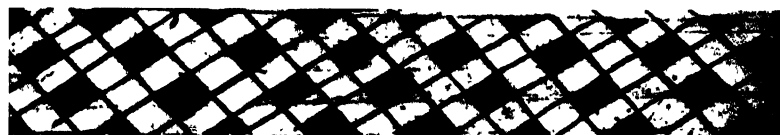
In Plate X are a number of designs, some of which have no more than a mechanical or geometrical basis. Figs. 1—4 are simple patterns of which the first two represent every day objects, whose patterns in design are more or less mechanical, whilst there is more than a possible suspicion that the purely geometrical patterns in Figs. 3 and 4 have suggested the appearance of the natural phenomena whose names they bear. Fig. 5, the cut-off sudap patterns, again suggest a modified fleur-de-lys pattern as in the clouds. In Fig. 6, the sudaps that rest on one another, the crowns are scarcely recognizable and contact has been established between successive upright and inverted stalks, a connection which is broken again in Fig. 7, the single sudaps, wherein the upper and lower fleur-de-lys components of the cut-off sudap pattern in Fig. 5 have been lengthened and spread out until their origin is no longer recognizable, save by tracing the stages through which it has passed.



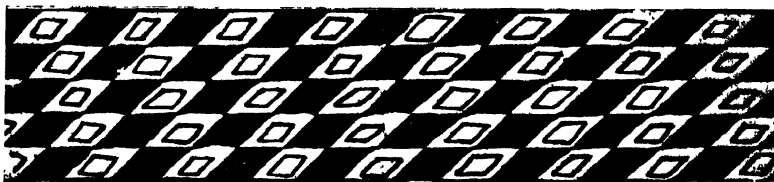
1. Ukir Betali, the rope pattern.



2. Sanggit Dinding, imitating how a partition is tied.



3. Raga Bunut, the diamond-shaped fencing.



4. Buah Angkong, the horse mango.



5. Sudap Kepong, the cut-off sudap pattern.



6. Sudap Panggal, the sudaps that rest on one another.



7. Sudap Tunggal, the single sudap.

The few zoomorphic patterns are shown in Plate XI. Fig. 1 literally and graphically represents a section of a fowl's gizzard with that almost realistic faithfulness that characterizes so many Sea Dayak actions. In Fig. 2 are depicted the legs of the centipede, a beast which on account of its bite causes the Dayak a good deal of concern about the house, the remaining patterns representing variations of the caterpillar design. Fig. 3 is in some ways the most elaborate, Figs. 4 and 5 simplified elongations, Fig. 6 a break up of the pattern rare in Dayak carvings, Figs. 7 and 8 designs scarcely recognizable from the original, save by a comparison of intervening stages.



1. Prut Manok, a fowls stomach.



2. The legs of the Nyembayar centipede.



3. Entadu Bendar, the caterpillar



4. Entadu Bendar, the caterpillar.



5.



6. Entadu Bekait, caterpillars hooked on to one another.



7. Entadu Bunga Trong, the egg plant caterpillar.



8. Entadu Rutus.

In Plate XII are a number of smaller patterns, Fig. 1, star-shaped, representing the flowers of the egg-plant, a design from which the sugar loaf pattern in Fig. 2 can be derived with fair ease. Figs. 3, 4 and 5, the unwavering pattern, is perhaps the commonest among Sea Dayaks and is repeated again in Plate XIV Figs. 5 and 6 and again in Plate XVI, Fig. 2; actually it is almost impossible to see any connection between these many patterns with the same name. The stems of the senggang water-lily in Fig. 7 are also reproduced on Plate XIX but again there is no apparent connection between the two designs.



1. Bunga Trong, flowers of the egg plant



2. Encherbong, the sugar loaf carving.



3. Buah Sigi or Ukir Bebatang, the unweaving carving



4. Buah Sigi or Ukir Bebatang, the unweaving carving.



5. Buah Sigi or Ukir Bebatang, the unweaving carving.



6. Tambit Ladong, tying up the carriers basket.



7. Berinka Senggang, the stems of the senggang lily.



8. Buah Genok, the gourd.

On Plate XIII are a number of cross-hatch designs at first very different from all the others. Fig. 2, the orchid leaf, is distinctly original and when held upright the design in Fig. 4, tying up the carrier's basket (as in Plate XII Fig. 6.), is a more or less exact imitation of the interlaced rotan fastening between the two free sides at the back of a normal carrying basket. The flowers of the egg plant in Fig. 5 bear the same name but no other apparent resemblance to the design in Plate XII Fig. 1.



1. Buah Emplanjau, the emplanjau fruit.



2. Daun Rajang, the orchid leaf.



3. Akar or Randau the creeper.



4. Tambit Ladong, tying up the carrier's basket.



5. Bunga Trong, the flowers of the egg plant.

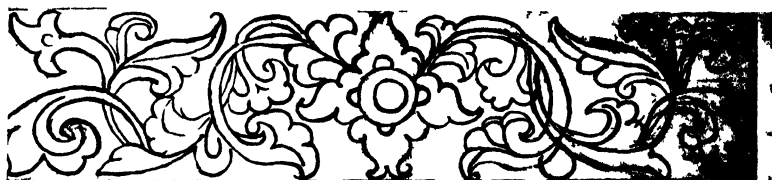
On Plate XIV Fig. 2, represents bamboo shoots, a very common Malay design. Figs. 3 and 4 are remarkably alike, though they bear different titles and so are Figs 5 and 6, the very common Buah Sigi pattern.



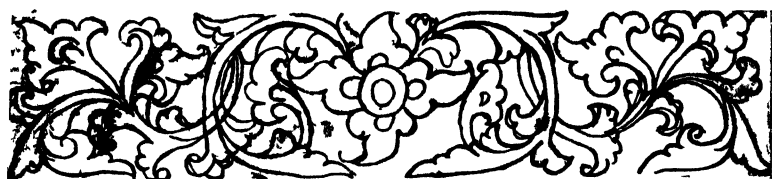
1 Buah Andu, the fruit of the andu creeper



2 Pemuchok Rebong, bamboo shoots



3 Langkai Randau the fruit stalks of a creeper.



4 Rajang Terbenurut the orchid that hangs down



5 Buah Sigi or Ukir Bebatang, the unwavering carving



6 Buah Sigi Beranak, the same with more decorations

The remaining illustrations show typical meander patterns, whose origin and significance are usually comparatively obscure. On Plate XVI Figs. 1 and 2 show a revival of the fleur-de-lys formerly associated with clouds (Plate IX) but the remaining designs are distinctly allegorical, with little obvious meaning save in the mind of their creator.



1. Randau Anak Dalam, a tiny creeper found in old jungle.



2. Randau Merurut, the creeper that descends.



3. Bunga Apong, nipah palm flowers.



4.





5. Kara Jangkit, the Ficus that spreads far and wide.



6. Ukir Bebatang or Buah Sigi, the single fruit or unwavering carving.

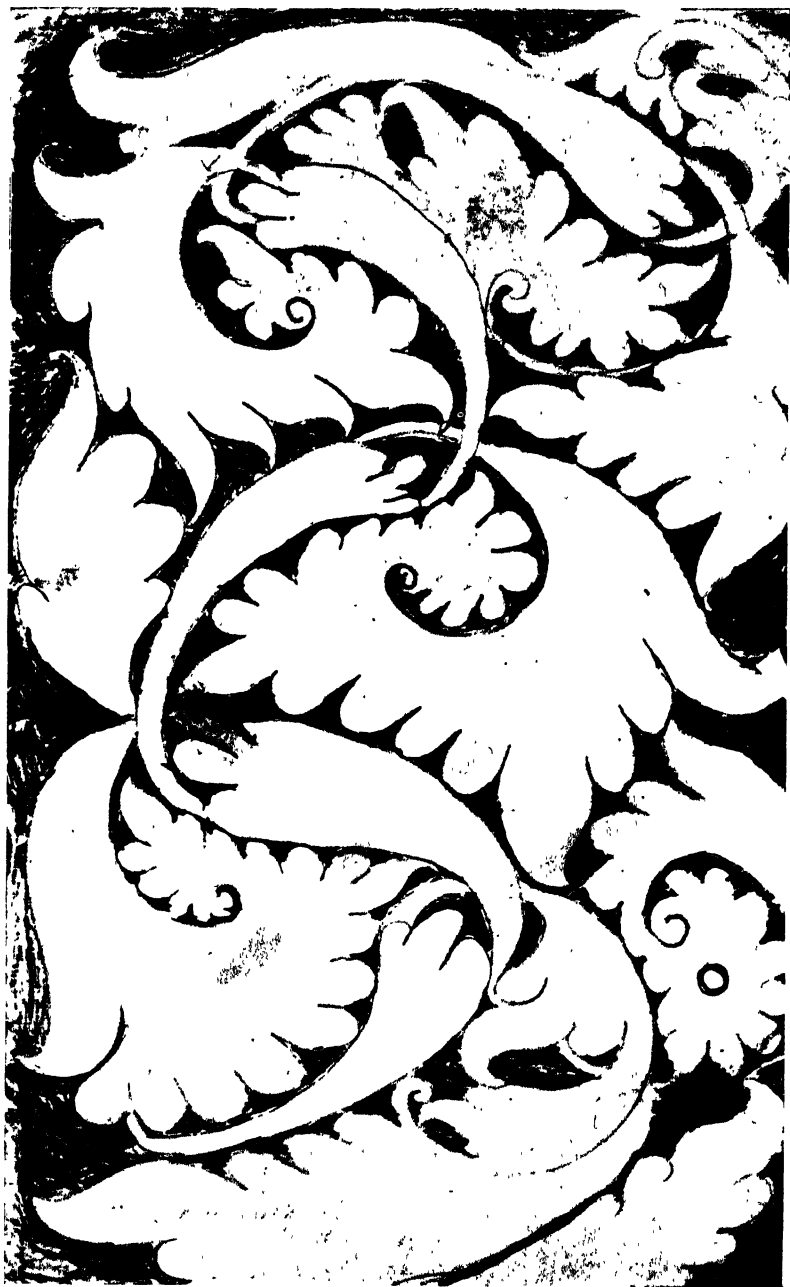


5. Ai Muleh, the backwater or eddy.





Daun Salambar.



Daun Rajang, the leaf of the orchid.



Randau Sa-Lumpang, one piece of a creeper.



Bringka Senggang, the roots or stems of the senggang lily.



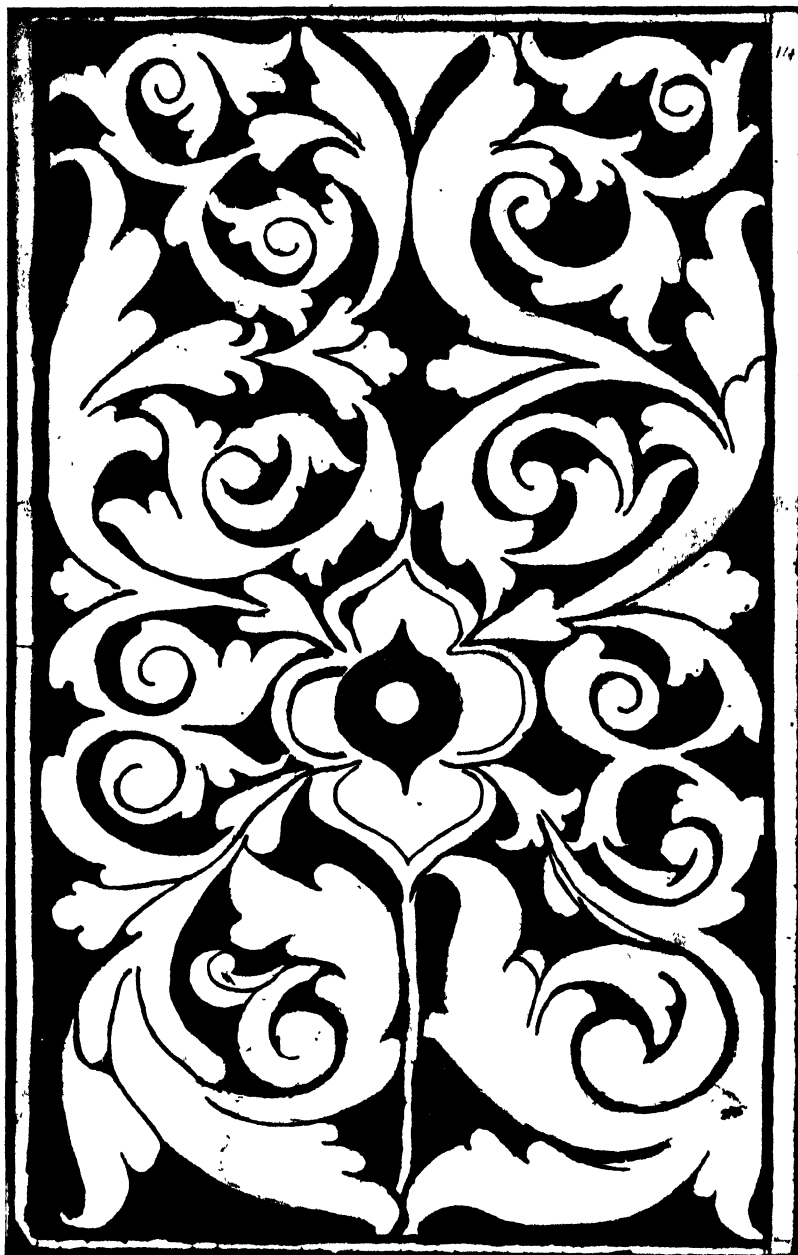
Tangkai Rambang, Fruit Stalks of the rambang creeper



Sayap Lelayang, the swallows wings.



Galigas or Buah Slabit, representing how a carrier's basket is plaited.



Balu Menyagu, the much admired widow.

PLATE XXII

JAWI SPELLING.

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT.

In teaching this subject I have found certain general rules of value to guide students through what in Malay as in English is a puzzling labyrinth of anomalies.

1. In Jawi there are three Arabic letters *alif*, *wau* and *ya* that are used as vowels, while the two last are used also as semi-vowels or consonants and for diphthongs:—

(a) *Alif* ا = a:—

کاسوت *kasut* کودا *kuda*.

(b) *Wau* و = o, u, au and w:—

کولم *kolam* بولا *bola* بولو *bulu* فولو *pulan*
کربو *kərbau* ورنه *warna* جاوي *Jawi*.

(c) *Ya* ي = e, i, ai and y:—

لبير *lebar* تېغوق *tengok* نالي *tali* کدي *kədi*
سوغې *sungai* فندي *pandai* ايم *ayam* اير *ayer*
کايو *kayu* يڠ *yang* يو *yu*.

2. At the beginning of a word و always = w and ي = y:—
واڠي *wangi* وايڠ *wayang* واف *waf* يا *ya* يو *yu* ياتيم *yatim*.

To be used in that position as vowels, و and ي have to be preceded by ا or in many crystallized spellings by ه *h*, both ا and ه being inserted as graphic props:—

ايگت *ingat* ايلوق *elok* ايسوق *esok* ايكور *ekor* ايکوت *ikut* ايکوت *ikat*
اوبې *ubi* اوھ *upah* اوتق *otak* اورڠ *orang* اي *ia* ايوب *ibu* ايسي *isi*

in the following words ه *h* is most commonly employed, though the aspirate is rarely sounded and then by pedants conscious of the spelling:—

hubong هوبغ *hubong* hudang هودغ *hudang* hulat هولات *hulat* harta هرت *harta* hutang هوتغ *hutang*
hitong هيتوغ *hitong* hitam هيسف *hisap*.

3. The short vowel *ə* (or *pəpət*) has no equivalent in Jawi :—
بسر *bəsar* بنر *bənar* تلوق *təluk* تلور *təlor* كچيل *kəčhil* but when it forms an initial syllable, the existence of such a syllable is denoted by ʾ inserted as a graphic prop :—

انم *ənam* امس *əmas* امق *əmak*.

4. The glottal check at the end of a word is denoted

(a) Generally by ق :—

چنتيق *chantek* اموق *amok* بيلق *bilek* بيسوق *besok*
ماسق *masak* اجق *ajak*

(b) in a very few common words (presumably crystallised before a system of spelling was evolved) by ك :—

نايك *naik* بايك *baik*

(c) in a very few words by hamzah ʾ :—

روكو *roko* فوكو *poko* داتو *dato* انجي *ənche*
كوكو *kokok*.

5. *Hamzah ʾ* is also used to indicate a break between two vowels when an *a* sound passes on to another vowel only by means of a gentle aspirate :—

لاوت <i>lawat</i>	but	لاوت <i>laut</i>
لاين <i>layan</i>	„	لاين <i>lain</i>
لاوق <i>lawak</i>	„	لاوق <i>lauk</i>
ساوه <i>sawah</i>	„	ساوه <i>sauh</i>

In doing this it sometimes replaces an *alif* following an *alif* :
سا-اكان-اكان-ايتو *sa-akan-akan-ia-itu* سا يلق *sa-elok-elok*. Sometimes

it stands for the *a* of *sa* - + a graphic prop :
 (from *sa-ekor* (سا + ايكور) or it denotes the presence of some other syllable that would otherwise be lost *di-atas* (not *datas*) *kāmpat* (كا مپت) *kādaan* (كا دان) *mēreka itu* (مريكتيت). (not *kadan*).

6. (a) Vowels are seldom inserted further back than in the penultimate syllable of a word :—

sadikat (سد يكتيت) *harimau* (هريمو) *dahulu* (دهولو)
haluan (هالوان) *manusia* (منسيا)

- (b) And this may be seen in compound words :—

hulu-balang (هلبالغ) *bagai-mana* (بگيمان) *apa-kala* (افكال)
apa-bila (اڤيل) *sa-batang* (سباتغ) *barang-kali* (برغكالي).
ku-lari (كلاري)

- (c) The rule is also illustrated by the spelling of derivative words :—

kata (كات) but *katakan* (كتاكن) ; *makan* (ماكن) but
makanan (مكائن) ; *ingat* (اڤت) but *ingatan* (اڤاتن) ;
raja (راج) but *kerajaan* (كرجائن) though when the stress is stronger on the syllable before the penultimate the vowelisation is not changed e.g. *darat* (دارت) but *daratan* (دارتن) ; *malas* (مالس) but *kemalasan* (كمالسن).

7. The following are general rules for the use of vowels though they do not go quite so far as modern " kitchen-mail " spelling in the insertion of them :—

- (a) Before two consonants never insert any vowel but only the graphic prop :

tumpat (تمپت) *sumpah* (سومپه) *lompat* (لومپت) *bantal* (بنتل)

pandai (ڤندي). Examples of the graphic prop are

empat (امڤت) *ingkau* (انگكو) *imbun* (امبون) *enche* (انچي)

انتہ *intah* and again ا is only the graphic prop and not a vowel in اڤگت *angkat* اندور *andor* انتوغ *untong* انتن *intan* and so on.

[N.B.—*ng*, *ny* and *ch* are single letters and not double consonants in Malay, so that vowels can be inserted before them *ڤاڤي nganga nyanyi چوچي chuchi*.]

- (b) If a vowel cannot be inserted in the penultimate—because two consonants follow—then insert و and ي but not ا in the final syllable

تمبوہ <i>tumboh</i>	but	تمبه <i>tambah</i>
تنگول <i>tunggul</i>	„	تنگل <i>tanggal</i>
تمبوق <i>tumbok</i>	„	تنبق <i>tambak</i>
لمفور <i>lumpor</i>	„	لمفت <i>lompat</i>
تنگيڠ <i>tonggeng</i>	„	تنگڠ <i>tunggang</i>
ليه <i>läbeh</i>	„	له <i>lebah</i>
سنگوه <i>sunggoh</i>	„	سنگه <i>singguh</i>

- (c) When in the two last syllables the vowels are identical and the last syllable is closed, insert a vowel only in the penultimate—provided the presence of two consonants following does not prevent it:—

بورق *burong* بورڠ *parang* فارڠ *ladang* لادڠ *burok*
 کارت *buloh* بوله *pileh* فيله *bilek* بيلق *karat*.

- (d) When in the two last syllables the vowels are identical and the last syllable is open, then insert the vowel in the penultimate—provided the presence of two consonants following does not prevent it—and insert it also in the last syllable unless the vowel is a:—

لاد *isi* ايسي *titi* تيتي *bulu* بولو *susu* سوسو *lada*
 مان *ada* اد *dada* باف *bapa* باف *apa* اف *mana*.

- (e) When in the last two syllables the vowels differ and the last syllable is open, then insert vowels in both syllables—provided the presence of two consonants following does not prevent it in the penultimate

کودا *kuda* کیرا *kira* لوسا *lusa* سوكا *suka* گونا *guna*
بابي *babi* باتو *batu*.

Under this rule fall words in which the vowel of the penultimate is the *ē* for which Jawi has no equivalent :—

کنا *kēna* دفا *dēpa* فتا *ḡta* دبو *dēbu* سري *sēri*.

- (f) When the vowels differ in the two last syllables and the final syllable is closed, then insert vowels in both syllables, provided (a) two following consonants do not prevent it in the penultimate and that (b) *l* is never inserted in the final :—

کاروت *karut* کولیت *kulit* فوتیه *puteh* گنتوغ *gantong*
گنتغ *gantang* کیلت *kilat* بولن *bulan* بولت *bulat*
پوست *pusat* بیر *biar* تریق *tēriak*.

Exceptions : (1) words like فرمفوان *pērēmpuan* توان *tuan*

بوات *puas* فواس *bual*

- (2) inexcusable anomalies like کلران for the more usual اجران کلارن for the more usual and correct اجارن and so on, some of them quite common.

8. Always fearful of giving any equivalent for an unstressed indeterminate *a* sound (*vide* Rule 7B, D and F) the Malay omits vowels from مک *maka* فد *pada* کفد *kapada* درفد *daripada* and even from words like *Pahang* فمغ where there is no stress on the penultimate vowel to distinguish it from the vowel of the final. There is no equivalent for the short vowels in *di*— د and 1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

ka— ک : *di-angkat* داڠکت *di-buat* دیوات *ka-rumah* کروهه.
 There is no *alif* in the enclitics —*lah* له —*kah* که —*lah* ته or
 even in یغ but the long stressed vowels are inserted in *dan* دان
 and *pun* فون .

9. The Perso-Arabic alphabet came to the Malays with diacritical signs for vowels, and traces of this survive in the anomalous omission of و and ي from a few very common words :—

juga جوک *tiga* نیگک *kila* کیت *dia* دی *ia* (یا) ای
ini این *itu* ایت *suatu* سوات *jika* جک *serta* سرت *pula* فول
boleh بوله *lebih* لبه *saperti* سفرت .

10. Joined to the succeeding word are س —*ka* ک —*di* د
sa—ku— (=aku) کو *kau—* (=engkau).

ka-kedai ککدی *di-pëkan* دفکن *di-bakar* دباکر
kau-baring کو بار یغ *ku-buat* کبوات *sa-pasang* سفاسغ .

11. Joined to the preceding word are که —*lah* له —*ku* کو —*nya* ن —*mu* (=kamu) م —*pun* فون —*lah* ته
 —*kau* (=engkau) کو .

itu pun ایتفون *dapat-kah* دافتکه *përgi-lah* فرگیله
labang-nya لابن *tëmpat-kau* or *tëmpat-ku* تمفتکو *rumah-mu* رومهم .

12. The enclitics and pronouns of (11) hardly affect the spelling of words to which they are suffixed except that they demand the insertion of the final vowel in words like *apa* دی
 :— *itu* ایت *lada* لاد *dia* .

itu-lah ایتوله ; *ada-nya* ادان ; *dia-lah* دیاله ; *apa-kah* افاکه .

And generally when more than one *a* occurs, the vowel is omitted from the old penultimate and transferred to the new
 باف *bapa* بافان *bapa-nya* مان *mana* مانكه *mana-kah* مات *mata*
 متاكو *mata-ku* سام *sama* سماله *sama-lah*.

But proneness to use the form of a word as it is spelt without an enclitic leads to such unsystematic variations in the same school-book as ايتوله *itu-lah* but اينله *ini-lah* داڭكتپاله *di-angkat-nya-lah* but ماسن *masa-nya* !

13. For convenience in writing يڭ *yang* may be joined with the following or with the preceding word or with both يڭدڭيله *yang di-pilih* بارڭيڭ *barang yang* بارڭيڭدڭيله *barang yang di-pilih*.

14. The spelling of foreign loan words does not conform with the rules for Malay words and they must be memorized. It may be noted that ق and not ك is used in many Sanskrit words : سقسي *saksi* سقسا *siksa* فرقسا *pṛeksa* بقتي *bakti*.

Common Sanskrit anomalies are سڭل *sēgala* تتكل *tatkala* and سها *sahaya*, though سraya = سراي and سڭاي = سڭاي. The spelling of Arabic loan-words requires special study.

THE PANJI TALES

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT. (Oxon.).

Since I wrote my "History of Malay Literature", there has been published by the Batavian Society a new and valuable study of the Panji tales by R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka—*Pandji-Verhalen Onderling Vergeleken* (1940). The scholarly author has analysed the contents of eight MSS.

(1). *Hikayat Pandji Koeda Semirang* (MS. Cohen Stuart No. 125 Batavia), (II) a Cambodian version ("Le Royaume du Cambodge", de Moura), (III) a *Sirat Kanda* version (MS. Bat. Gen. No. 7), (IV) the *Angron-Akoeng* (MS. Brandes No. 379 Bat. Gen.); (V) *Djajakoesoema* (ib. Nos. 150 and 611 pt. 3); (VI) *Pandji Angreni* from Palembang (MS. 185 Bat. Gen.); (VII) *Pandji Koeda Narawangsa* (MS. Brandes 295); (VIII) *Malat*, a Balinese version (MS. Brandes 54 and MS. Bat. Gen. 391).

He attempts to estimate the respective ages of the several versions by means of several data:—

- (a) References to the family of the ruler of Kuripan. I and II mention four princely brothers without naming them and has no mention of a nun princess. VI and the Palembang *Hikayat Galoeh di-gantoeng* summarized by Overbeck in *Djawa* 1932, mention four princely brothers unnamed, and the nun. Various other versions name four princely brothers (e.g. Raffles version in his *History of Jawa* II p. 87, Cohen Stuart's *Djajalengkara* TITL, en Vk. 32, 1889 and Not. Bat. Gen. 1904), De Wayang-verhalen van Pala-Sara, Pandoe en Raden Pandji ed. Roorda and Gunning, Leiden 1896) and the History of Kediri ed. P. v d. Broek). Another group III and V, the *Tjekelwanengpati* and others cited by Rassers p. 331 mention three royal brothers and two sisters, of whom the elder is the nun and the youngest is married to the ruler of Singasari. One MS., the *Adji-Saka*, talks of four brothers and two sisters, the elder the nun the younger the wife of the ruler of Poedak-setegal, and it makes the ruler of Singasari one of the brothers. The Balinese *Malat* omits the nun but mentions three brothers and one sister, wife of the ruler of Singasari. Dr. Poerbatjaraka considers the Palembang version the oldest with its mention of the nun and he finds in Phnom-pachangan of the Cambodien version the Gunoeng Poetjangan which was the haunt of the nun. Versions giving three or four brothers and two sisters appear to be late.

- (b) In most non-Javanese versions is mentioned beside Kuripan, Daha (Kediri or Mamenang) and Singasari a fourth kingdom Gëgëlang (or in II Kalang). III and IV and later *lakon* give Oerawan in place of Gëgëlang. Versions that give Gëgëlang are older than those giving Oerawan.
- (c) I drags in Arjuna the hero of the old Javanese *Bharata-Yuddha* and Samba the hero of the *Bhoma-kawya* into the preface. But the *Hikayat Tjehel-wanengpati* and later Malay versions drag in characters out of the *lakon* like Nayakoesoema. The preface of V is an elaboration of that in III. The *Djajalengkara* of Cohen Stuart has a preface indebted both to III and V.

Next Dr. Poerbatjaraka compares main points of the story in the various versions:—

- (1) In I Panji meets his first love while hunting. She is Martalangu, 'a goddess incarnate, but no relation of the ruler of Daha, and her father is only a headman. In the *Ken Tambuhan* she is the lost daughter of the ruler of Daha. Late versions all make her a princess of Daha.
- (2) In I Panji's lowly-born love Martalangu is murdered by his mother:—in *Ken Tambuhan* at her order. Later versions that make her a princess of Daha have to restore her to life or to omit the murder, as there is no good reason for it.
- (3) In I, II and *Tjehelwaneng-pati* Batara Kala carries off Chandra-Kirana in the form of a storm; V makes only a storm ravish her, *Ken Tambuhan* a *dewa* and the *Malat* Batara Guru in the form of a golden grass-hopper. In the *Ht. Galoh di-Gantong* she goes away of her own free will, in VI she stays at home as befits a princess.
- (4) Gunong-sari or Përbata-Sari, crown prince of Daha, goes in search of his sister. In I he goes outside Java but in an unconscious state so that recovering he may return as Kalana. In II he is named Siyatra and is decoyed by a golden peacock to Kalang where he serves the ruler and meets Panji and finds his sister without the intention of searching for her and without quitting Java. In III he plays no important role and marries Onengan, Panji's sister. In IV he is called Wiranatarja and in VIII Wiranantaja (Gunong-sari), an older name than Panji; and VIII makes him go abroad from Tuban to seek his sister—Dr. Rassers opined this quest from Tuban might refer to Kertanagara's expedition against Pamalayu or Sumatra in 1197, while Dr. Poerbatjaraka sees in it only an episode borrowed from the *Pararaton*.

- (5) Panji's youngest sister, Onengan or (Wu) *ragi-kuning* marries in all the Javanese versions *Gunong-sari*; in VIII she is not mentioned. In I she is ravished by a Buta: in the *Tjekelwaneng-pati* the victim is the princess of Daha.

Other parallels are collected by Dr. Poerbatjaraka. There are many between II and VIII:—the lover's request to Chandra-Kirana for a garment as a souvenir; the incident of Panji disguised as a stranger, the episode of a princess being abducted in the confusion of a fire caused by her lover, the conveyance to their own kingdoms of the remains of princes killed in the attack on Gëgëlang; Panji and *Gunong-sari* recognising one another's cresces. Such coincidences prove a common source. The abandonment of the princess of Daha in a forest and her adoption by a king is found in V as well as in II and VII. The king who lost his consort and bargained for a Javanese princess occurs in I, II and the *Ht. Galuh di-gantong*. The feast at which the princesses dance as *Sërimpis* is found in four versions. Only in VIII and *Tjekelwaneng-pati* is Panji's hair snipped by *Gunong-sari*. The *Tjekelwaneng-pati* contains not only elements from the older Panji versions like VIII but a ghost-scene from the *Sudamala*. Coincidences show a relationship near or distant between all the versions. Often Chandra-Kirana adopts the attitude (copied later for the hero in Malay folk-tales like *Awang Sulong Merah Muda*):—"I am Jayalengkara, have neither father nor mother. The peacocks protect me against the cold. Deer give me milk." In many versions Panji plays the *dalang* or showman of the shadow-play.

As to the date of the Panji tales. Dr. Poerbatjaraka would put it at a time when no one would laugh at Singasari (1222-1292) being made contemporary with its predecessor Kadiri or Daha, as it is in the Panji cycle. That he opines cannot have been earlier than the palmy days of Majapahit (ca. 1350 A.D.) or perhaps its decadence. Majapahit began to wane after 1388.

The spreading of the Panji tales throughout the archipelago would be a bit later, so that in his opinion it is unlikely there ever was a version of the tales in old Javanese (which expired about 1400). Between the heyday of Majapahit and its fall, knowledge of Sanskrit waned and Middle-Javanese founded on popular speech started. In the Panji tales are no relics of the Indian metres of old-Javanese works. All of them, especially the Balinese version (VIII), refer to geographical names and titles like Lembu, Mahisa, Kuda, Undakan that occur in the *Pararaton* (1328). The earliest records are a stone-relief of about 1400 depicting a Panji scene and an image of Panji dated 1413 A.D. The forms of personal names suggest that the Panji cycle reached Siam and Cambodia in Malay script.

This work by R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka is a good example of what a Javanese scholar trained on Dutch lines can do for the

study of his country's literature. The date he suggests for the Panji titles accords with my own published view that Malay versions were done or at least known well in Malacca in the middle of the fifteenth century.

It is to be hoped that some one will make outlines of the two versions printed in Malaya, namely the *Hikayat Perbu Jaya* (Ipoh Press) and the *Kuda Sumirang Sèri Panji Pandai Rupa* : I should be glad to lend him my MS. of the *Hikayat Mesa Gemang* from Perak to get an outline of that also.

In view of the strong Javanese influence in Kelantan (and apparently Kedah), it is interesting to note that according to some MSS. of the " Malay Annals ", when Malacca conquered Kelantan, Sultan Mahmud married a daughter of its ruler bearing the Javanese name of Onang Kèning or Kentang, the name Onengan being that of a sister of Panji.

Are there relics of Panji tales in Kedah as well as Kelantan ? The Kedah folk-tale *Trong Pipit* shows Javanese influence. There is reason to think that the *Hikayat Pelandok Jinaka* shows traces of a Kedah influence as well as Javanese. There are two distinct dialects in Kedah (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XVII, Pt. I 1939), and in one of them Javanese loan-words are common. The Malay States of the north of the peninsula badly need research in the fields of language, history and folk-lore.

THE SUNDANG AND OTHER MALAYSIAN ART MOTIFS

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D. Litt. (Oxon).

Soendang "a short broad sword" says van Ronkel's dictionary with no word as to its *provenance*. In the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* (1921) vol. IV, p. 680 the word is not to be found but it is described under *kalis*—"Very different from the *këris* of Netherlands India is the *kalis* of the Philippines and of the Sulu Islands. It occurs also in North Borneo and more recently in the districts of Jambi and Indragiri: the Leiden catalogue mentions a specimen from Riau. The blade is long and for a great part of its length is of the same breadth, so that the weapon is as good for hewing as for stabbing. This applies to the wavy as well as to the straight blades, as the waves are small and shallow. More remarkable than anything else are the hilts and the copper or steel fastening about the broad butt. The hilts are nearly straight, Philippine examples ending in a knob in the shape of a bird's head, Sulu ones in a stylized seated bird with jutting head and tail". The same article cites *soendang* as a sword from East-Sumatra but gives no description. Wilkinson explains *sundang* as "sword-*këris*; Sulu *këris* It differs from the *këris* in its size and massiveness and in its large and serviceable cockatoo-headed handle". My own *English-Malay Dictionary & History of Malaya* call it a sword and, following Malay tradition, ascribe it to the Bugis who evidently popularized it. Mr. Woolley talks of "the *këris*-like sword of Borneo known as the *këris Suluk*" (J.R.A.S.M.B. XVI, Pt. II, 1938 p. 40) and Mr. E. Banks of the "*këris Sulok* or *Sundang*" (*ib.* XVII, Pt. II, 1940, pp. 105-7), describing it clearly with photos and terming it a broad-sword rather than a dagger, with the pregnant comment that it is "almost the only Malaysian cutting instrument with both sides sharpened".

Is it, in fact, Malaysian in origin? Early in the Christian era Roman beads reached Celebes in large quantities. May the *sundang* also have come, like other objects, to Majapahit from Europe by way of India, (as the crusaders' sword also came to India and Malaya)? Its prototype with straight sword-like blade widening towards the point may be seen sculptured in the hands of demon Rakshasas at that relic of the Majapahit era, Chandi Panataran (1329—1350) in Java. Already even then the base of this broad-sword had been altered into kinship with the *këris* *The Ramayana as sculptured in reliefs in Javanese Temples*, c.f. Kats, Weltevreden, fig. 24; *Pictorial History of Civilization in Java*, Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Weltevreden, fig. 118), but its hilt lacks the cockatoo-crest common in modern specimens and none of the blades are wavy. Does its presence in the hand of Rakshasas imply that it was a weapon of barbarians? And

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has it acquired its cockatoo hilt later in the east of the Malay archipelago where cockatoos are known? And are the waves in many blades a more recent Malaysian accretion?

A parrot-head hilt is common with the *tumbok lada* and presumably was evolved in the East. But outside the Basilica of St. Mark's at Venice one may see what Muirhead's Blue Guide to Northern Italy (1924 p. 201) describes as "two curious porphyry groups, possibly fragments from a late-Roman triumphal arch, possibly of Eastern origin", where Eastern means Byzantine. They are illustrated in Pijoan's "History of Art" (London, 1933, Vol. II, p. 108) as "The Philadelphi, Byzantine sculptures": Pijoan describes them as "two reliefs representing warriors embracing one another which are unquestionably of Eastern workmanship". Each warrior wears a short sword, the blade reaching from some two inches below the navel to the bottom of his calf, and each sword has (what looks like) a parrot-head for hilt but with the neck of the bird long enough for the hilt to be grasped in both hands. Here apparently we have the parrot-head as a *motif* for a hilt before the time of Majapahit. From what country did it come?

Byzantium, the Rum of Malay literature, is a trap for the unwary student of affinities between the arts of East and West. There are the obvious affinities between Byzantine and Buddhist art, as for example in two motifs found in both Tibetan and Byzantine paintings, (a) a circular or cruciform panel surrounded by smaller panels with pictures of minor incidents, and (b) those backgrounds of innumerable saints and angels (*ib.* p. 105) recalling the innumerable little Buddhas in pictures representing the miracle of the Buddha projecting copies of himself. But there are other and more recondite affinities. When I saw the tiered multiple roofs and carved sky-pointing acroteria of the wooden churches of Norway, I thought at once of the tiered roofs that occur in Indo-China, and Siam and Burma and survive in the mosques of Malaya and the Malay archipelago and I thought of the acroteria or carved snake-like projections jutting skyward above the gables of Siamese *wats* and of the less elaborate acroteria in Minangkabau houses. The more the tiers of roof the higher the rank of the occupant, so that the six-tiered roof of a church near Oslo (Pijoan, vol. II, p. 353) would be as appropriate to a house of God as the tiered roofs of Buddhist *wats* and Muslim mosques. Often they are associated with the concave ridge of the Mongol roof. Obviously they were the work of races using only wood for their houses and it has been surmised they spring from the ridge-pole and upstanding props of the nomad tents of north Asia. One is therefore disposed to see in the Norwegian churches the survival of a very old Mongol element from across the steppes. Actually the design appears to be far later. Similar acroteria are found on pavilions in Byzantine miniatures and the design of these Norwegian churches derived through Carolingian types, is Byzantine. Byzantine

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influence led to "a number of churches with roofs of this sort ornamented with wooden acroteria" being built (and still extant) in the town of Pelandria on Mt. Troodos in Cyprus. Abundance of timber and the occurrence of snow have influenced the choice of this old-world design (*op. cit.* p. 352). But Byzantium got the design in historic times, from nomads of the Altai-Iran region, (Altai-Iran und Volkerwanderung, J. Strzygowski, Leipzig 1917).

In a Folk Museum in Sweden I saw woven cloths figured with horses that I mistook at the first glance for Sumba cloths. This may possibly carry us back to something far older than Altai-Iran influence. For one *motif* in the Sumba cloths goes back to the third or fourth millenium B.C., however it reached the Malay archipelago. At Syalck near Kashan in Central Persia has been unearthed a spouted pottery jug having a long-necked bird riding on the back of an ibex (*Illustrated London News*, Dec. 15, 1934). A similar *motif* is common on Sumba cloths. In the specimens accessible to me now I find the bird is never on the back of a horse but only on the backs of stags or of cocks whose stylised combs and tails closely resemble the antlers and tails of the stag, so that an original stag design might easily have been turned into a cock design by the addition of a beak and the omission of two legs. In Malaysia one may often see a white egret on the back of a buffalo but how many would see a bird perched on the back of a stag, if ever a stag allows it? Nor is originality in design so common that such a *motif* would be likely to be thought of by two persons or two races. And is the upstanding horse-of the Sumba looms with high arching neck any more like the Malaysian pony than the Arab horse of Chinese art (copied from the silver coins of Alexander the Great) is like that pony's Mongol prototype?

Alongside prehistoric and archaeological research in the Malayan region there is a wide field for the comparative student of design. Quite recently starting as a purchaser in the auction rooms of Holland Mr. G. Tillmann collected in Sumatra a series of Lampong cloths that were unknown to the museums but illustrated the development of a highly stylised pattern from the magic boat still used at Dayak funerals and found on a bronze drumhead at Dong-son in Tonkin that was cast before 50 A.D.:—Dr. Heine-Geldern has found the patterns on early Chinese bronzes to be identical with Maori wood-carvings. In Kedah Dr. Quaritch-Wales has found an early Indian prototype of the Minangkabau brass 'house' and he has unearthed miniature weapons of shapes occurring on the frescoes of Ajanta and on the bas-reliefs of Borobudur (including the *churika* or famous Hindu dagger in the Minangkabau regalia). All these discoveries should stimulate field-research and encourage students to turn the pages of the many illustrated works on the arts and crafts of British India, Netherlands India, Indo-China and China in a hunt for cultural affinities. Old pre-Hindu influences to be sought in

places like Java, Sumba, Celebes and Borneo must not be overlooked.

Dr. Quaritch-Wales puts the capital of the old Sailendra empire in Perak. And this may lend new interest to the patterns on Perak silver-work, which in many respects differ from those of other Malayan wares and have characteristics commonly ascribed to Siam but not always traceable there. Did Bruas preserve any Sailendra traditions and bequeath them to the court of the Malacca prince who in 1530 founded the present Perak dynasty? Some of the foliated patterns of Malay silver-work are identical with the carving on the panels of the Sailendras' greatest masterpiece, Borobudur. Unfortunately Muslim zeal will have destroyed all vessels decorated with the effigies of Hindu deities.

THE PERAK SITE OF THE SAILENDRA EMPIRE

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt. (Oxon.).

In his recent archaeological researches Dr. Quaritch-Wales accepts Moens' theory that the 9th. century A.D. saw in Perak a kingdom Zabag (? an Arab corruption for Jawak)=Chö-po of the Tang annals but denying on archaeological grounds a Javanese origin for its Maharaja he puts the capital of this Sailendra ruler in Kadaram or Kidaram=San-fo-ts'i=Zabag, that is, somewhere in Kan-da-li=Kan-to-li or Kin-to-li=Kinta then near the Perak coast. He might have strengthened this theory by a detail from Mr. Justice Mills' paper on a collection of maps in Raffles Library (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XV, Pt. III, December 1937) that a Chinese map of 1584 belonging to the Royal Geographical Society places San-fo-ts'i in the middle of the Malay peninsula. Obviously the map was copying a far older chart.

Dr. Wales suggests that ancient Langkasuka took the place of the Peninsular Sailendra empire of Sri Vijaya after its fall and took over the Sailendra name of Kataha=Kedah. But he omits to note that the Wu-Pei-Chih charts put Langkasuka in Patani. He makes no mention of Dr. Stutterheim's suggestion that perhaps Muslim Pasai ruled Kedah at the end of the 13th century. The name of Pasai's first ruler Silu=Pali *chula* suggests he may have been a Cola. A princess of that house would then have been a fitting bride for Malacca's second ruler who claimed descent from Raja Suran who was also a Cola, if Dr. Wales is right; and together they might well put forward a claim to the throne of Palembang (*ib.* Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, p. 80; Pt. II, p. 150).

RAJA LANGIT, THE CELESTIAL EMPEROR

By R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt. (Oxon).

On page 116 of my edition of the *Sējarah Mēlayu* the Emperor of China is made to call himself *Raja Langit* "Ruler of the Sky" or "Celestial Emperor" in a letter purporting to be addressed to the Sultan of Malacca. One of my students, Mr. John Blofeld, who is a Chinese Scholar, tells me that among the many names the Chinese employed for their empire the commonest name in former times was Tien-Hsia (下天) *i.e.* "Beneath the sky", meaning "All the countries beneath the sky". Foreigners grasped the meaning of *Tien*=sky but not that of *Hsia*. Accordingly Europeans talked of Celestials and Malays of the "Raja of the Sky".

MALAY JOURNALISM IN MALAYA

By ZAINAL-ABIDIN B. AHMAD

The history of Malay Journalism in Malaya goes back only to a little over 60 years ago. As far as can be ascertained at present, the first Malay newspaper ever to be published in this country was called the *Jawi Peranakan* ('The Moslem Local-Born') started in Singapore about the year 1877.

I am lucky to have come by a precious old copy of this paper through an editor friend. It is No. 38 of the first volume bearing the date 15th. October 1877. From this copy which unfortunately has lost pages 3-6, it is clear that the paper, at least in its earlier days, was an 8-page affair, each page of a foolscap size, and published every Monday. It was a lithograph production, and although judged by our present standard it can only be described as poor work, yet in those early days it must have been regarded as a God-send. It is certainly a creditable pioneering effort. It lived for no less than 17 years.

True to its name, at least as the number before us shows, this paper seems to have been strongly influenced by Arabic journalistic terms and methods. It uses '*adad* instead of *bilangan* for number, and *qimat ul-akhbar* instead of *harga langganan* for subscription rates. And so on and so forth. At the top, underneath the title, there are a couple of verses advertising the paper :

" The flower-pots of *Jawi Peranakan* are in trim ;
Giving out scents which fill towns and cities ;
The bees and beetles come in large numbers
From distant districts, over hills and dales.
The flowers blow in variegated colours—
Buds, opened and unopened, in perfect form ;
Come, enjoy these gifts of songs and tidings,
By Jove, they will solace your sorrows ! "

About contemporary with the *Jawi Peranakan*, though they all came out later by a few years, there were the *Nujum ul-Fajar* (Morning Stars) the *Jajahan Melayu* (Malay Territories), and the *Seri Perak* (Light of Perak) — all in the same style of production and get-up as their first prototype. But none of them continued publication for long.

However, the spirit of journalism gradually grew in vigour and strength from this time, and the papers brought out became more and more energetic in reproducing foreign news and publishing

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articles of general interest. They began calling upon the Malays to bestir themselves and to take their due share in the activities of modern life. *The Chahaya Pulau Pinang* of Penang (started in 1900), the *Taman Pengetahuan* of Singapore (1904), the *Al-Imam* of Singapore (1906), the old *Utusan Melayu* of Singapore (1908), the *Nuracha* of Singapore (1911), the *Tunas Melayu* of Singapore (1913), the *Lembaga Melayu* of Singapore (1914), and the *Pengasoh* of Kelantan (1918) were all Malay journalistic ventures which followed each other in quick succession—some only to survive for a few months, others for a few years, while one or two for a longer period, but all instinct with the urge of new interest and new ambition. A new current of ideas was slowly coming into the literary life of the Malays, and first found expression in the form of journalism. It drew its inspiration for the most part from the Arabic press of Egypt and to a less extent from the local English press as well. Beginning from *Chahaya Pulau Pinang* all these papers were published in print Jawi script, as against the old process of lithography.

The contents of these older Malay journals often afford much pleasure and entertainment. The earlier papers, apart from giving regular news items, local and foreign, were more given to correspondence and discussions on the niceties of the Malay language and on various questions of Malay customs and religion. They also showed a more consistent tendency to publish articles of local or general interest and useful excerpts from foreign papers to add to the readers' stock of general knowledge.

But during the second decade of the present century, the correspondence columns of the Malay papers then in existence were generally full of controversies and wars of words—from lively discussions on points of language and idiom, on the correct way of writing Malay poetry, and on the interpretation of certain obscure passages in some Malay religious books, to hot attacks and counter attacks on the question of whether or not savings bank interest is *riba* (usury according to Mohammedan Laws), and on the doctrines of the Ahmadiyyah sect in India.

Practically throughout the period of the last Great War and for a couple of years after it, these papers had their war too, with one or other of these literary battles raging furiously off and on. In the case of the religious questions, each side cited authorities from sacred literature and from the writings of the early imams and expounders of the faith. If the articles thus written were collected and published in book form, they would make absorbingly interesting reading, at once amusing and instructive.

The papers which chiefly contained these were the old *Utusan Melayu* (not the present paper of the same name) and the *Lembaga Melayu*, both of Singapore and both now defunct, having gone out of publication since 1922 and 1931 respectively. In the absence [1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

of records and old files the existence of which anywhere is very much doubted, it is not likely that any trace of these writings will survive.

Present Developments

To-day we have five daily Malay newspapers throughout the country—the *Warta Malaya* of Singapore, the *Utusan Melayu* also of Singapore, the *Lembaga* of Johore, the *Majlis* of Kuala Lumpur, and the *Warta Kinta* of Ipoh. We have also one tri-weekly, the *Sahabat* of Penang, one bi-weekly, the *Saudara* also of Penang; a number of illustrated weeklies, including those published in conjunction with some of the dailies named above. There are also several Malay monthlies, bi-monthlies, and quarterlies published by various Malay printing houses and Malay teachers' associations in different parts of Malaya.

But the growth leading to these developments is of comparatively recent date. The *Warta Malaya* came into the scene only 10 years ago, and as we know is still flourishing and growing in scope and size with its two illustrated weeklies the *Warta Ahad* and *Warta Jenaka* in addition. The present *Utusan Melayu* was started only a few months ago; and its weekly illustrated edition the *Utusan Zaman*, is only about 6 months old. But both of them are already making their influence felt throughout the country and are taking an honoured place in the life of Malay journalism. They represent one of the three Malay newspaper concerns in the country that are financed by purely Malay capital. The *Lembaga* of Johore was started on the eve of the Italo-Abyssinian War 5 years ago; but its weekly edition, the *Lembaga Malaya* is older, being originally published in Singapore starting about 5 years after the *Warta Malaya*, and later (1936) was moved from Singapore to Johore. The *Majlis* of Kuala Lumpur has seen only about 9 years of life, and has recently changed from a tri-weekly to a daily. The *Warta Kinta* of Ipoh is only a few months old to date, having been started some 3 weeks after the outbreak of the present war.

All the weeklies published in conjunction with some of these dailies have special features peculiar to each. The *Utusan Zaman* for instance regularly amuses its readers with its comic cartoons and satires centred round the imaginary figure of Wa'Ketok and aimed at the various failings of Malay society. And so do the *Warta Ahad* and the *Warta Jenaka*. The *Lembaga Malaya* on the other hand has its regular columns of Pa'Pandir humour. It also publishes weekly instalments of the Arabian Nights translated apparently from Burton's English version. It has been doing this continuously since its inception and has by now completed several books of that voluminous work.

The oldest Malay newspaper now in publication is the *Saudara* of Penang which was started in September 1928. It was originally

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a bi-weekly, then a tri-weekly, and now has for some years changed again into a bi-weekly. In the hands of its original founder and editor, Syed Sheikh al-Hady, whose death in 1934 was universally lamented, it was a powerful and uncompromising critic of Malay life and a strong advocate of social and religious reformation for Moslems. It also had a companion monthly periodical called the *Al-Ikhwan* which similarly breathed the fiery spirit of the social reformer. The *Sahabat*, also of Penang was started only in February last year and is a tri-weekly. Since a few months ago it has also had a monthly published in association with it called the *Siasat*.

Of other periodicals worth mentioning, there was the *Pengasoh* of Kelantan which flourished from 1918 to some time in 1938 when it stopped publication. It was at first a fortnightly and then changed to a weekly. As its name implies (the name means "The Nurse") this journal was the real cradle and pioneer to the many similar periodicals cropping up here and there throughout the country and then passing away during the last 20 years. Its place is now taken by the *Al-Hikmah* yet another weekly, also of Kelantan, which however started publication while *Pengasoh* was still in circulation, though on the decline. The special feature of *Al-Hikmah* is the serial stories, original or translated by the editor from Arabic novels, given in instalments and published in book form as completed.

From Penang there were also several weekly and monthly magazines published one after another besides the *Al-Ikhwan* already mentioned. The best known among these were *Malaya* (weekly), *Semangat Islam* (monthly), *Persahabatan* (monthly), and *Suara Malaysia* (weekly), the last being one of the few attempts to publish a Malay periodical in Romanised Malay in this country. Then there was the monthly *Majallah Cherita*, also of Penang—a story magazine modelled on the various story magazines in the English language but with the stories mostly concerning Malay life and written by Malays. But all these are now dead and gone, their place being taken up by new ones from other parts of the country, though none seems to hold any better prospect of success than its predecessors. During the last 15 years Malay newspapers and magazines have been springing up like mushrooms all over the country. But few have prospered or found a permanent place in the stream of Malay journalistic life. Nevertheless, compared with what it was 60 years ago, the present spate of Malay journalistic ventures certainly speaks volumes of the progress in the development of Malay journalism in Malaya.

The contents of these periodicals are, generally speaking, not very much different in nature one from the other. Besides some brief reference to the week's or the month's important world happenings, articles on all sorts of subjects touching the educational, moral, social, cultural and economic well-being of the

Malays are published. They warn, exhort and call to action, at the same time denouncing idleness, extravagance, ignorance, superstitions, fatalism and un-Islamic practices. Sometimes the lesson is driven home by means of stories translated or specially written for the purpose; sometimes by humorous and biting satires, and of late even by means of crude cartoon drawings and 'caricatures'. But more often it is done by direct and outspoken condemnation.

One fact worth noting is that some of the Malay papers at present make payments for articles and news items contributed to them by well-known writers and correspondents. The amount depends upon the quality of the matter contributed. They also have duly accredited special correspondents in various parts of the country who are paid regular remunerations for their service. The chief paper which makes such payments on a fairly high scale is the *Warta Malaya*. In the old days industrious writers might contribute columns upon columns of articles and get nothing for their pains. They might be "special" correspondents to this or that paper, but all they received in return was a free copy of each issue of the paper. The change that has now taken place in this respect no doubt indicates comparative success and progress on the economic side of Malay journalism.

Script and Language.

In the Netherlands East Indies Malay journals are of course much more developed and advanced both in quality of contents and in quantity. But they are all published in Romanised Malay, according to Dutch system of Malay Romanised spelling. Here in Malaya we have all our Malay newspapers in Jawi, that being the script still very strongly favoured by the majority of the Malay public who have come to look upon it as their own national script. The few attempts to publish Malay papers in Romanised script in this country have so far proved abortive.

The language and style of the Dutch Indies Malay writers differ in many ways from that we see in Malaya. Many words, idioms and turns of expression they use are never heard here. Still, they are not so different as to be difficult of understanding by the average Malay reader in Malaya. In fact, their writings and newspapers are fairly widely read among the younger generation of Malays in this country who are able to read both Jawi and Romanised Malay and have not much acquaintance with English or any other foreign language. In this way, Dutch Indies Malay newspapers are exerting a certain influence on the language and style of their counterparts in Malaya.

The newspaper jargon known in English as 'journalese' is also not unknown in Malay newspapers, and I fancy in all newspapers of any language. The pompous 'we' of the Editor's column is always in evidence; but it is also frequently replaced by the name

of the papers itself as an impersonal entity. The general style of language and composition depends, of course, on the individual writers and editors. Some show a preference for using unusual words, others for reviving obsolete ones and making them serve present-day purposes. Others again like to make use of Arabic loan-words and phrases. But taken as a whole, the language of the Malay newspapers has been, and is being, very much affected and conditioned by the necessity of having their material translated from a foreign language. The impossibility of finding exact Malay equivalents for such English words as *local*, *financial*, *professional*, *personal*, *personality*, *economic*, *cultural*, *constitutional*, *diplomacy*, *totalitarian*, *democracy*, and hundreds of others has produced a crop of tentative equivalents in the form of new loan-words from the Arabic or even of hybrid words coined for the occasion. In both cases, the words used are just as unintelligible to the ordinary Malay as the original foreign words.

At present many war words have come in to puzzle the head of the Malay journalist. Pocket battleship, Patriotic Fund, neutral, bomber, fighter, Spitfire, trawler, cruiser, destroyer, anti-aircraft guns, depth charges, tanks, the Allies, R.A.F., B.E.F., division, convoy, are among many which are baffling his ingenuity. The Dutch Indies Malay journalists generally show no scruples in adopting the European terms, as their papers are produced in Latin script. But in Malaya all seem to agree not to use the original English words which, when presented in Jawi garb would be hardly recognisable. On the other hand, the influence of foreign construction and form of expression is also noticeably affecting the language style of the Malay newspapers.

Influence and Prospects.

There is no doubt the Malay newspapers and magazines are exerting a strong influence in shaping public opinion among their Malay readers, in spreading general knowledge of the world, and in awakening and shaking off the apathy of the Malays towards progress. To say nothing of the towns where these papers are always available at every Malay bookshop and some of them at the various Malay clubs, and read even by the motor cars drivers, one notices that the peasant folks of the kampongs are also taking keen interest in what is said in the *surat khabar* about other parts of Malaya and the world. Often, of an evening, one sees at the wayside Chinese shop some lettered man, perhaps an old *guru* of the local school or perhaps the local penghulu, reading one or other of these papers, and a little crowd of elderly people less literate than he eagerly listening, questioning, and commenting around him. Thus they learn about what is happening in the rest of the world, thereby making themselves ever less and less the proverbial "frog under the coconut shell".

But no less far-reaching also is the influence of the Malay papers in modernising and revitalising the Malay language. New ideas and new contents are put into it, and with that new spirit and new life. There is no fear that the Malay language is getting out of date. It is a living language and is continually being built up and expanded by the ever growing vocabulary sponsored by, and introduced through the agency of, the Malay newspapers.

There is every prospect that the newspapers in their own language have come to stay among the Malays. Judging from the progress that has been made during the last sixty years and bearing in mind the advance that is steadily being made in Malay education throughout the country, it is only reasonable to believe that a brighter future is in store for Malay journalism in Malaya.

THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION OF THE MALACCA POLICE.

By A. H. DICKINSON, O.B.E.

On the 30th. June 1827—Mr. W. T. Lewis, a few days before his appointment to the Office of Superintendent of Police, Malacca submitted in his capacity of Assistant Resident, a report to Government embodying a census of the population of the Settlement. The report is quoted in full (Appendix A) because it describes so clearly the settlement as it was at the time he assumed his police duties.

Of the policing of Malacca under the Dutch in the XVIIIth. century little is known. There was in the town undoubtedly a "Burgher Watch". During the British military occupation after 1796 this watch was maintained and the law administered by the Dutch College of Justice ; its sentences of death being subject to confirmation by the King of England.

With the advent of a British Civil Government in 1825—a definite attempt was made to create a Police Force. The Headmen of the old Burgher Watch were certainly maintained in Office, and they no doubt constituted the nucleus round which was created a regular force for duty in the town.

The responsibility for the policing of the country districts was in the first instance laid upon landed proprietors by the terms of a clause in the ancient grants under which they held their lands from the Dutch Government. This clause stated :—The proprietors acknowledge also that in cases of emergency (if any such should occur) they are bound to provide for the peace of their respective Estates by embodying a police from among their tenants."

This arrangement was to have been supplemented (by the Dutch) with the order to Penghulus to which reference is made in Mr. Lewis' census report. The order which is here quoted (Appendix B) clearly defines the functions of Penghulus 114 years ago and at once explains the jealousy which, however veiled, at times exists between the average penghulu and the Malay non-commissioned officer in charge of a country police subdivision. For with the development of the police under the British the penghulu has been deprived of much of his position as the preserver of the peace. The British Government immediately in fact when promulgating the order clearly laid down the subjection of the penghulus to the new Police.

On 5th. July 1827 a Council meeting was held in Malacca at which the Governor, the Hon'ble Robert Fullerton was present.

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Agenda for discussion included :—

- (1) The appointment of the first Superintendent of Police.
- (2) Mr. Lewis census report.
- (3) The old Dutch " Orders to Penghulus " which Mr. Lewis had discovered.

The Governor then personally nominated Mr. W. T. Lewis as " Superintendent of Police and of Lands ".

The minutes read "As Superintendent of Police the task of Supervising the penghulus will devolve upon him". In regard to the orders to Penghulus the Governor wrote " Though the order never was passed (by the Dutch) it sufficiently demonstrates the idea entertained by their long Established Government— It seems to me evident that the Penghulus may be made the most useful instruments of the Police : We cannot indeed invest them with the power of inflicting punishment, but in all proper Police duties the prevention of Robbery and the apprehension of the offender they present themselves as the best Agents already established and known to the people. Under the operation of the Charter of Justice they will probably fall under the terms of Constables but barring too unbending an observance to English Law Forms and responsibilities, they may still, as Constables, perform all the duties required ".

Their subjection to the Chief Police Officer was then clearly laid down.

The Hon'ble Robert Fullerton had formed the highest opinions of the possibilities of this ancient Settlement ; and on the 5th. July 1827 he addressed in most enthusiastic terms, a despatch to Government in which he went so far as to suggest that Malacca should be the Presidency Station in preference either to Penang or the then budding Settlement of Singapore. He wrote:—

" It seems to me that Malacca excepting as an Entripot of Trade, possesses many local advantages not enjoyed by the other two Settlements which point it out as by far the most eligible for the Presidency station unless indeed any annexation of Territory to this Government should take place in a more northerly direction. In the first place it is the ancient Seat of European Government, has been so far more than two hundred years, as such it is known and respected by all the Surrounding Malay States of which indeed it is as the Capital. The salubrity of its climate has long been established. It is more centrally situated, within two days sail of Singapore and four of Penang. In the way of supply of Troops it commands infinitely greater resources

than either of the others, particularly for Europeans ; and is admirably calculated for the Central Station and Depot for whatever Force it may be determined to collect together for the defence of the whole. The fortifications are indeed destroyed but in this respect it is only on the footing of the other Settlements ; at Singapore none have yet been erected and those of Penang are worse than useless , a line of battle-ship may anchor within Pistol shot and the works could not bear the firing of their own guns. Supposing it seemed advisable to establish at least one of the Stations as a place of strength and Depot for Troops and Stores, the local position of Malacca is infinitely more favourable than either of the others ; being on the Continent it commands an interior—and, owing to the shoal water, no ship can approach so as to bring its Guns to bear on any works on shore. As regards public buildings for official purposes there appear at present ample means, by the simple repair of the strong and durable erection of the late Government at an expense of 30,000 Rupees already sanctioned by the Supreme Government, to which little addition of expenditure would be required for many years. Malacca possesses moreover what neither of the others can be said to possess—an Indigeneous and attached population. From the long period during which they have enjoyed the protection of European Governemnt with the tranquility and security which it affords, their habits are more peaceable, settled and quiet probably than in any part of India. That they are unfortunately most indolent and apathetic must be admitted , satisfied with the bare means of subsistence they seem as yet insensible to the inducement of gain and acquisition of property—Want of Capital, want inseparable from the absence of industrious habits, is urged as the great drawback on improvement ; but it appears to me the want of energy industry, and exertion in the inhabitants of Malacca is mainly if not entirely attributable to the depressing principle on which the Government of the place has long been conducted. Peace and security are indeed all the benefits that seem yet to have been conferred on them. Inducements to Industry and exertion have been carefully withheld. All the subordinate Dutch Settlements appear to have been ruled entirely on a principle of subjection to the interests of Java the chief Seat of Government, the Growth even of Rice the essential article of food was forbidden, the cultivation of every article which Java or the Mother Country could supply was strictly prohibited and no determinate object or pursuit of Industry whatever was open to the people.

In 1796 Malacca was ceded to the British Government and continued under that Power until the latter end of 1818, during the whole of that time it was subjected to a system of Government more depressing even than under

its Dutch Rulers. Placed under the authority of Prince of Wales Island and considered as a place only of temporary occupation, every possible measure was resorted to with the view of preventing its interfering with the then growing prosperity of that Island, being placed further down the Straits, better situated than Penang for an Eastern Entrepot it was deemed necessary to oppose some counteracting principle to its advancement, and the trade of Malacca was subjected to double duties while every exertion was made to depress it—the fortifications were destroyed and the appearance of protection thus withdrawn, and every inducement was held forth to encourage the inhabitants to quit the place and repair to Penang. A proposition was even made to destroy the Town and pay the inhabitants the charge of removal to the favoured Station—a proposition the Inhumanity of which must have presented itself to any one who had visited the place and been acquainted with the nature and description of Malacca. Under the Netherland Government in 1818 the same system of depression was carried on with increased energy. It would appear that that Government had very shortly after made up their minds to the withdrawal from the Continent of the Malay Peninsula, the supply of provisions to Singapore was interdicted as well as the export of bricks, tiles and other materials except on their own account, and even the stones which formed the fortifications continued to be carried away to Rhio long after the Treaty of March 1824 was notified ; and up to a period immediately preceding the cession which took place. In consequence of the Establishment of the Presidency at Malacca the increase of expenditure and circulation would give a spur to the industry of the inhabitants and be the means of extending and encouraging cultivation of the Land so as to admit at no distant period a means of drawing from their Produce Revenue equal to make up the expense of the Establishment, of which at present little hope can be entertained.

In a political point of view the removal of the Seat of Government would be attended with some advantage : it is conveniently situated for maintaining such a degree of influence over all the Malay States as would prevent their falling under Siamese Dominion and the removal of the Presidency from the proximity of Quedah would probably put an end to the disputes and vexatious discussions which seem inseparable from the contiguity of the Presidency to a state under charge of so troublesome a character as the Chief of Singora. Malacca is besides near enough the south end of the Straits to watch the proceedings of the Netherlands Government and protect the British Commercial Interests in these Seas of which the destruction has long been and probably will continue to be the objects of that Government”.

The Governor's powerful plea, in the light of Malacca's subsequent history deserves to be reclaimed from its musty grave in the archives and again to be given, over a century later, the light of day.

It is indeed relevant to this history of the Police. In reading it now it is not difficult to imagine with what hope and enthusiasm the Honourable Company's Servants, stationed in this neglected spot, must have heard of this despatch which was likely, perhaps at once, to increase beyond their wildest hopes, the importance of their status and their work.

But this earnest appeal for the better recognition of Malacca ; even then believing itself to be the Cinderella of the Settlement had but faint hope of success.

In 1827 Malacca was not even in a position to support its own Government. For that year the expenditure on establishment was' 126,678 Sica Rupees.
The Revenue was 44,080 " "
and it was the declared policy of the Honourable Company that each Settlement should meet the cost of its own upkeep.

Malacca was lucky indeed to have been retained at all.

Such then were the conditions prevailing in Malacca at the time Mr. Lewis assumed office as our first Chief Police Officer.

I have been unable to trace very precise details of the organization of the Police Force ; and my notes are now somewhat disjointed.

The new Chief Police Officer apart from his duties as Assistant Resident and Collector of Land Revenue had his hands full.

He was (and is still) responsible for the Fire Brigade. On the 28th. January 1828 he was instructed "to furnish from the Police persons for exercising the Fire Engine".

There is a record that his men to some extent had to assist in the control of prostitution.

On the 15th. June. 1828—"It having come to the notice of the Honourable the Governor in Council that venereal disease is extending at Malacca, he is pleased to direct that the following arrangements be adopted for the eradication of that distemper. A Lock Hospital to be established in some small well-enclosed safe building in the Town which is to have only one entrance."

When individuals come into hospital with this disease, or that under other circumstances they propose to point out the female that communicated it, the circumstance is to be reported to the principal native in the Police Office and he is hereby ordered to send persons or peons to bring that Individual to the Lock Hospital".

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He was also responsible for the supervision of the jail whose inmates systematically escaped, mostly no doubt when employed outside. There appears to have been a regular drafting of criminals from India and other Settlements into Malacca; the convicts were used for public works, and were also let out on private hire to officials, prominent citizens and landowners.

Much of his time as Superintendent of Police was taken up investigating the position of slaves who, under British law, considered themselves entitled to break agreements which were binding under Dutch law—the treaty having made no provision for defining their status under the new regime. He was also directed to organize a Conservancy Department. With his convicts he organized scavenging gangs, with his police he was responsible for the observance of the terms of a monumental proclamation by the Resident which covers every manner of offence likely to constitute a public nuisance and which are now embodied in the rules and byelaws of our Minor Offences and Municipal Ordinances. There was not so far as can be ascertained under the Dutch regime any control whatsoever of markets, night soil, road drainage, obstruction etc. etc. There were not even proper roads or paths in the town; to such an extent had Malacca been neglected.

In regard to crime—piracy was the outstanding danger. There is little evidence in the documents examined of much general crime at this period.

The coasts of Malacca contained numerous strongholds of pirates and the Superintendent of Police had to devote serious attention to the problem, suggesting the creation of fixed outposts—actually no doubt the first police stations, although of a semi-military character. In 1829 Mr. Lewis reported to Government:—

“ Having carefully visited the different points and creeks intended to be made places of defence and taking into consideration the very wild State of the Country and coast beyond MARLEMOW where there are no houses or individuals, and the fact that Kesang River is not a resort of the Pirates, the Chief Post would in my opinion be best at the largest of the water islands commonly called Pulau Besar which is a place continually visited by the Pirates in their predatory excursions. The guards of Sepoys required would be:—

At P. Besar ..	..	a large Havildar's guard.
At Marlemow ..	..	a Naick's guard.
At Lingee River ..	..	a large Havildar's guard ”.

While getting material ready for building huts for his guard on Pulau Besar, his men were as he puts it “ intruded upon by the sudden arrival of 19 Pirate Boats”.

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Mr. Lewis proposed to attach to the Sepoy guards, police "constables"—to act presumably as interpreters and informers.

He suggested the following allotment of peons.

Lingee River	4 peons	8 India Rs. per month.
Iear Etam ..	2	" " " "
Marlemow ..	"	" " " "
Ombye ..	"	" " " "
Pulau Besar ..	3	" " 10 Sikka Rs. " "

The Resident agreed only to the Havildar's guard at Pulau Besar; and directed Mr. Lewis "to hire the peons for the other stations if he conceived that their services, unaided by a Military Force, would tend to public advantage".

The guard at Pulau Besar proved very successful. In his report for 1829 Mr. Lewis was able to state that "the protection which the guard at Pulau Besar has given to the Southern Part of the Malacca Districts has already induced several families to remove from the lands adjoining Malacca boundaries. The people consider it as the greatest blessing that could be afforded them.

I would therefore strongly urge the adoption of the system of guarding the coasts which in my capacity as Superintendent of Police I had the honour of laying before Government on 9th. March last (1829). . . . from some cause unknown the guard required for the Northern Parts is not allowed and nothing therefore has been commenced at the entrance of the Lingee River—I had visited this place, and marked out the spot, but from the great exposure from constant visiting of the Pirates which are now more frequent from their being driven out of their haunts at Pulau Besar and creeks to the Southward, the natives are afraid to work there. By protecting this point the natives of Lukoot and the coasts up to Selangor will I am assured move into our districts".

It is not clear whether his police constables were detailed for piracy duty or not at this stage.

Mr. Lewis must have been a man of great general ability. An uncovenanted civil servant, formerly of the Bencoolen Establishment, he had declined a pension on the abandonment of that Settlement and had been transferred to Malacca.

His prospects certainly appeared bright. He enjoyed the patronage of the Governor, who was personally responsible for his appointment. He was serving in a Settlement in which the Governor was personally deeply interested, and in which opportunities for creative, and spectacular work were plentiful. But however bright his prospects, however happy his position when he first assumed duty in Malacca, it is unfortunately obvious from records that the relations of our first responsible Chief Police Officer with the Resident rapidly became embittered. The heavy

calls upon his time drove him in a fit of irritation to complaining in the hearing of both the Assistant Resident and the Resident "of the intensity of the duties to be performed by him".

The Assistant Resident Mr. Church, unfortunately on intimate terms with the Resident, was not slow to take official notice of this and submit an immediate application to supercede Mr Lewis as Superintendent of Police, a post apparently considered the most lucrative in the Settlement.

The Resident, no less eager to seize the opportunity to rid himself of an Officer utterly uncongenial to him, forwarded the application to Fort Cornwallis and supported it with all the weight at his command.

The Governor, deeply interested in Mr. Lewis, of course declined to entertain the suggestion. His refusal called forth a further but unavailing protest from the Resident who now based his arguments mainly on the grounds that Mr. Church was a covenanted servant and that Mr. Lewis was not. He had at this stage of the quarrel, the grace however to "subscribe cheerfully to the high character of Mr. Lewis as a Public Servant". And so Mr. Lewis remained in possession of his lucrative post drawing the munificent Salary of 1500 Sicca Rupees per month and in addition 10% upon the collection of all Land Revenues—a sum which in 1829—a bad year, amounted to 10% of 17368 Rs.

He was apparently permitted to live some distance out of the town ; and this fact was also used as an argument by the Resident to replace him by Mr. Church, as the policing of the Town or suburbs was likely to suffer, he said, through lack of immediate supervision.

The strength of the first Malacca Police Force under the command of Mr. Lewis was (in the period 1828—1830)

1 Constable (Mr. W. Van Heusen)	..	..	Rs. 60 p.m.
1 " (Mr. J. Endroff)	..	..	20 p.m.
2 Tyndals to local convicts	..	..	20 p.m.
1 Mohamedan Writer and Swearer	..	..	31 p.m.
1 Chinese	"	"	22 p.m.
1 Chulai	"	"	22 p.m.
4 Headmen of the Burgher Watch	..	..	60 p.m.
1 Jemedar	..	..	15 p.m.
28 Peons	..	..	280 p.m.
21 Penghulus	..	..	210 p.m.
1 Assistant to Superintendent (Mr. Minjoot)	..	..	200 p.m.
1 Clerk	..	..	85 p.m.

63 in all.

Total Rs. 1,025

The Governor commented as follows on this Establishment.

"Judicial Department—Police. Now amounts to Sicca Rps. 1025. As this Establishment is now to do duty in the Police

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not only of the Town but of the interior to an extent much greater than either of the other Settlements, and as it is only by the maintenance of Peace and Good order that we can hope for any accession to our population and consequent increase of cultivation and revenue—it does not appear to me that any reduction (in strength) at all will be made.

If money is raised by assessment for the watching of the Town the cost of 14 peons might be reduced amounting to 140 Rs ; and the four headmen of the Burgher Watch 60 rupees should also be paid out of assessment funds ; the 200 Rupees thus saved might be expended in the Police Stations along the coast so as to oppose some check to the piracy so much complained of within the Territory of Malacca". This saving of money (not men) was in fact effected as from 1st. May, 1829.

When the subject of this assessment came up for decision Mr. Lewis took the opportunity to suggest that an establishment of 150 Peons was necessary. The Settlement however was still in the throes of acute economic depression and no notice was taken of this sensible but revolutionary proposal. The inclusion of the penghulus as constables in the Police Establishment was carried out under Mr. Lewis ; but friction between police and penghulus early started, and it was possibly because he wished to supplant penghulus with his own men, that he recommended the above drastic increase to the Police strength. In a report at the end of 1829—speaking of penghulus—he wrote " They are of no use for Police service and I recommend that their payment under the heading of Police be discontinued".

His breach with the Resident, Mr. Samuel Garling, had by this time become irreparable. In a final violent protest in which he did not hesitate to criticize the Governor's interest in his opponent the Resident openly proclaimed " the impossibility of conducting business with Mr. Lewis". " This gentleman " he wrote " has publicly adverted to the burden of his duties. He has publicly insulted the Magistrates his colleagues ; one of them the Resident, his immediate superior ; he has publicly uttered disrespectful insinuations against the appointments of Government. Mr. Lewis has, I conceive, presumed upon the impunity extended to others ; upon the impunity he himself has experienced ; and doubtless upon the patronage which he has uniformly enjoyed. He now stands absolved of all censure and is further gratified by the recent Order of the Honourable Company's Board which by recalling Mr. Church deprives me of the services of a gentleman who enjoys unqualified confidence and leaves me to the irksome necessity of conducting business through one between whom and myself there exists neither confidence nor respect".

It would be difficult to imagine a state of affairs more unhappy or less conducive to efficiency in a young police force.

Appendix A.

MALACCA, 5th July, 1827.

To

The Hon'ble Samuel Garling Esq.,

Resident Councillor.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward a Census of the Inhabitants of Malacca in which is included the whole of the population within the Territory as defined in the 3rd paragraph of my letter.

2. By these documents there are 233 European inhabitants who are with very few exceptions the descendants of European Dutch Families, having lived here for several generations many are consequently by intermarriage connected with one another in strict bands of Relationship.

3. The heads of these families are possessed of decent strongly built Tennents situated with few exceptions in two streets of the Town called Heer Street and Jonkers Street, and having their own people about them who are mostly descendants of slaves are enabled to live very frugally and to all appearances happily.

4. It is amongst these families to whom most of the lands near Malacca belong, part of them are the Merchants of the Settlement and others are employed in different situations under Government.

5. The Inhabitants that come next under consideration are the Siranies or native Portuguese—These are the remains of the once large population of Malacca who are now dwindled to no more than 2,289 souls. Although the ancestors of this race originally intermarried with the native women their descendants are now altogether separate and form by Customs and habits a distinct Class. They retain in their countenance, the prominent features of their ancestors although in color, as dark as the natives and are, therefore, very easily distinguished.

6. These people are all poor and many live in wretched houses erected in that part of Malacca called Banda Hillir. It is by these men that the Inhabitants are so largely supplied with fish—with but few exceptions they have no other employment and are constantly out in small sampans following this precarious livelihood. Amongst such a number of families some might have been expected to have turned their attention to the more profitable and eligible mode of living by cultivating the soil and supplying the Town with vegetables, but as far as my enquiries have been made, there are none but such as I have described and a few

handicraftmen. At Boongha Raya near the river's side they have a decent well built church, are bigotted Roman Catholics, and are regularly supplied with Priests who are sent for the purpose by the two colleges at Goa and Macao.

7. They speak a language peculiar to themselves which may be dominated as Creole Portuguese as the original has been greatly corrupted.

8. The Chinese Inhabitants are the descendants of Emigrants from this enterprizing nation who have been settled for ages in the Country—of these there are 5,006.

9. Most of the trade of the place is carried on by them and like in all other places of the East they monopolize the different Government farms which no other people can manage with the same dexterity and cunning. There are men amongst them that are worth a deal of personal property which they put out to Interest, secured by property mortgaged and pawned to them—others again employ their Capital by setting up relatives at Singapore, but their attachment to this place is so great that none of them ever leave it altogether, and their general aim in accumulating riches as to be enabled to return to their home and spend the rest of their lives amongst the relatives — Malacca must by this be considered as that home and but few of this tribe ever think of going to China.

10. Another portion of this nation are men that emigrate from Canton and Macao and are brought here annually by Portuguese ships and China junks in large numbers—it is said that during the last Season there could not have been less than 5,000 of these people distributed in different parts of the Straits. On leaving China the Commander of the Vessel agrees to give them a passage on condition of being paid by the sale of their services for one year which formerly amounted to 20 Spanish dollars each. They were, however, disposed of last year for 1 and 1½ picul of Sago which may be estimated at 7½ dollars only. When larded the purchaser takes all risks and receives them with all defects, and on engagement of giving them their food, clothing and Barber's expenses and to allow them a certain sum at the end of their servitude which sum varies from 6 to 10 dollars. When this time is expired these men have generally picked up a little of the language and are enabled to set up for themselves if they are industrious and speculative. They get fresh advances for forming pepper gardens and cultivating all kinds of vegetables by which the town is pretty well supplied. Others who have been brought up in their Country as Carpenters and Blacksmiths find ample field for employment in the Town and others again go into the interior and join the Hangs (or Company) of Miners. The last description of Chinese are different in every respect to the first mentioned (which I should conjecture came in a body and Colonized here). They accumulate riches for the express

purpose of being enabled to return to China and keep up during their absence a correspondence with their relatives and whenever they have a little money to spare it is remitted to China. They associate together and are said to have formed a kind of Brotherhood that by some people have been considered dangerous, how far this may be true I have not been able to trace but I should suppose the Police put a sufficient guard upon their action.

11. The race denominated Klings are most of them descendants of people from Madras, Negapatam, Nagore, Cuddalore and those parts of the Coromandel Coast who have at different times come here with property generally in cloth. In this manner they have multiplied by inter-marriage with the native women of the Country—There are 1,492 that are Mahomedans and 850 that are Hindoos.

12. The richer part of them are employed in trade and have shops in the Town some are worth as much as 20,000 dollars, are possessed of lands and cultivate Paddy, but the greater part are poor adventurers and are employed in supplying the shipping that resort to this Port.

13. The Malays are spread about the interior in the different Estates of Individuals, it is them that cultivate the Paddy grounds and by whom the Town is supplied with fruits and it is from them that the Landowners derive the small revenues that their lands yield—The census shows a population of 23,292 besides 1,595 servants, Slaves and Debtors. In the deep part of the Forest there are persons called Dayaks who have a language peculiar to themselves. I should be inclined to consider them the real aborigines of the Country who have probably been driven into the woods by a spirit of independence which is inherent in human nature at the time that the Malays settled on the shores. I have tried to get some of them to live with my people, have given them cloths and other comforts but they appeared soon tired and have left me without giving any reasons—they wear nothing but the inner bark of trees.

14. Of the origin of Malacca several persons have given slight sketches by which it is generally understood that the City was originally founded by the Musselmans in the 13th Century (about the year 1260) and was early after a powerful Settlement of the Portuguese. The Dutch conquered it, about the year 1640, it stands in 2°12'N. Latitude and about 102° 15' East Longitude—is in its greatest length about 39 miles and in its broadest part 35 miles—it may be calculated to be about 790 Square miles—It has been a source of wonder to casual travellers that though the land near the Town is low and for some part of the year under water with an offensive mud bank lining its shore for nearly half a mile out, which is exposed at low water, yet is notwithstanding considered one of the most healthy places in India. The Arabians first, the Portuguese next and lastly the

Dutch held the City of Malacca, but rather as a commercial Station than for the sake of any trade with the Country. The Dutch began to ruin the Commerce of the place by drawing away the trade to Batavia as the trafic with Japan was extensive in the time of the Portugeze. Our lately established Settlement of Singapore has likewise considerably lessened the trade, but the people are strongly attached to the soil and although many are seen to leave it in search of wealth, and in the course of trade, yet as long as their families are so attached a certain trade must always exist which would produce by a slight duty on Imports, sufficient for the payment of the expenses of Government.

15. Fish is very plentiful, and almost all kinds of Indian fruits, Yams and Poultry are in great abundance. A quantity of Firearms such as Blunderbusses and muskets are manufactured by the Chinese which are exported to different parts of the Straits, they make also every other kind of Ironmongery particularly the working tools which the natives use such as Parangs, Baleongs Nails etc.

16. In describing the District of Nanning every information that I have been able to collect with reference to soil, Forests, Metallic produce etc. has so immediate an analogy to the rest of Malacca that it would only be a repetition to say anything on the subject here, I beg therefore merely to answer those particular points noted in your letter.

17. The proportion of Grain produced in the most fertile parts of the Country does not exceed 100 Gantangs for one Gantang of seed and may be estimated for a fair rate at 50. I have introduced in the Statement of the Census a column of the quantity of seed planted by each House, I am fully persuaded that the account given me is not correct as the novelty of the information elicited has caused a little alarm and the people have considered it prudent to conceal the real quantity for fear of being taxed—I have been credibly informed that they have done the same in regard to the number of Buffaloes. It is to be expected that the culture of Paddy will every Season increase as it was a well known fact that the Netherlands Government discouraged it as much as possible, but finding that our Government are following a different policy the result will no doubt be a change for the better—it is the only way in which a native Malay is really well employed, without it, his life would be rendered still more inactive than it already is and for want of better employment he would soon end by resorting to the gambling and opium shops. By this account the whole quantity of paddy planted amounts to 45,227 Gantangs and the whole number of Inhabitants including all classes are 34,968—if we estimate the produce at 50 for every Gantang of seed planted it would only yield sufficient rice for half year's consumption, an allowance must also be given for the grain

consumed by horses, poultry, etc. the whole then required to be imported may be fairly calculated to be near 2,000 Koyans of rice.

18. When Pepper a few years ago was as high as 11 to 14 Spanish dollars per picul the Chinese found it worth their while to cultivate it very largely and the produce is said to have exceeded 8,000 piculs per annum, but at present I should doubt it amounts to 4,000 piculs and even this produce cannot be expected to last as I have observed in many parts of the Country that several of the Plantations have been deserted for more profitable employment.

19. Some of the Chinese agriculturists are planting Spice trees which might soon prove a source of wealth to the Landholders if they were to study their interest more than they do at present. One or two of the Estates have above 600 houses on them ; say that they distributed to each house about 20 plants only to dispose amongst their fruit trees, the quantity of Spice which would be produced in a few years would turn out a very valuable consideration—I would beg to suggest for the consideration of Government to give Clove plants to the Nanning people for the purposes above stated. I have mentioned particularly Cloves as I fear the trouble of curing mace and nutmegs would be more than they could attend to particularly as their houses are infested with all kinds of insects so destructive to both these spices.

20. In drawing out the Census I have been particular in separating those houses that are built on ground belonging to Government. Those about the Town are on the Trankerah road and a few at Bhoongha Raya amounting to 517 houses. They cannot afford to pay much being in general the poorest class of people, I should suppose a quit rent of one dollar per annum for each as have merely houses, and proportion more for those that have gardens attached, would be as much as they could pay.

21. Between Ballye Panjang and Klaybang Kechill is a piece of ground belonging to Government on which some persons have for many years past grown Paddy—The late Mr. A. Koek who appears to have grasped at all within his reach made these people pay him the Cho Kye of 10 per cent. and on that plea the present proprietors of Ballye Panjang take it — But it is well known that the ground belongs to Government it is almost in the shape of a wedge and in its greatest breadth only about 2,400 feet Course West to East.

22. On the Malacca river there is also another piece of land belonging to Government called Passir Pootee it is rendered useless by the annual inundations, being apparently extremely low and as far as I could see having nothing on it but the Common Galam trees which answer no other purpose but making firewood.

23. In the concluding part of my former letter I was of the opinion that the present roads were sufficient but from my last visit to Nanning and the enquiries I made on the way, I am fully persuaded that a great deal of good would result by having the roads in good order and a free communication can be depended upon, this should be done in all directions towards Malacca and through every Landholders grounds. The means for effecting this is to follow strictly the intent and meaning of the Government when the lands were granted, and if the inhabitants of the Lands were called upon, I am confident of their quiet acquiescence in making them.

24. Having passable roads the Government officers would then be enabled to see what further improvements might be suggested for the public good, at present it is not possible to give any very satisfactory account of the lands to which subject I have now arrived and feel my inability to give that ample information which I am assured the matter requires.

25. The Grounds belonging to Private persons which are of any extent I have placed at the end of the Tables of the Census of the population. By these accounts the extent of each individual's property can be seen as well as the number of the population.

26. The Estates which are extensive viz: De Wind's, Koek's, D'Souza and Westerhouts' have fine timbers on them if Sawyers were employed on the spot, I should suppose the planks would turn to profit exported to our other two Settlements. On Mr. Koek's Estate at Ayer Etam, having all the facility of transporting by Sea, a quantity of Ebony is growing further inland towards Mount Ophir—in Mr. De Wind's Estate Rattans are in great abundance and Damar might also be collected in any quantity. Bees wax is also collected in different parts. I have no further information respecting the cultivation produce etc. than what has already been given in treating of Malacca generally but I beg to draw your attention more particularly to what may be termed the Police or Government of them.

27. By what I have observed the people do not understand the relative Situation in which the ryot or rather cultivator is placed with Government (or Sovereign) and the Landholder, in my opinion the Landholder is no more than what a landed proprietor is in England who having received his rent from the Tenant can exercise no further power over him—On the contrary here, he considers himself the Sovereign, appoints the Panghooloo who acts as a police officer and even doubts the right of Government giving any orders but through him, the consequence is that the Panghooloos make no reports whatever to the police and without it is a very Capital Crime, the officers of Justice are kept in utter ignorance, and the people in a state of vassalage that is not consonant now with their rights as British Subjects.

28. In the Office I found an order sent from the Batavian Government written in Malay and Dutch which was about to have been issued just before the Transfer of the settlement to us; I have the honour to forward a translation of the same as many parts of it contain the general duties of a Panghooloo and be useful in framing any regulations which Government may deem proper to make.

29. With respect to these Lands many are granted with express condition that they were to be cleared of Jungle, in default of this being done they were redeemable by Government. The Landholders I understand plead ignorance to these conditions stating that the original grants are filed in the Court and that they have only a Bill of Sale, it would however, appear to me but a lame excuse as no person it could be supposed would make a purchase of this nature without being completely acquainted with the conditions of the original Grant.

30. Referring to the calculation I made respecting Paddy in the 17th paragraph of this report, I beg to continue the same for the district of Nanning exclusively as it may become a consideration with Government to levy a tax on the produce of this part which is *bona fide* Government property.

31. The Census gives 4,564 natives in all the District and only shows 10,046 Gantangs of seed planted—This quantity would not be more than 55 Gantangs of Rice per annum to each person large and small, being barely sufficient for their maintenance and confirms me in the opinion I have already given that the account is far short of the real quantity—I think with safety one half more might be added—say 15,000 Gantangs of seed ought to yield on the Lands of Nanning which are fertile 75 for one planted, or 1,125,000 Gantangs—this would give Government at 10 per cent on the produce 140½ Koyans of Paddy worth about 4,500 Spanish Dollars.

32. Accompanying I have the honour to enclose a calculation for the cultivation of 100 Orlongs of Ground laid out in Nutmeg trees which differs considerably from that drawn out by the Honourable Mr. Ibbetson especially in the number of trees capable of being planted in the same given space. The space that trees are planted in at Penang will prove ridiculously close; by experience the Bencoolen Planters found that 25 feet asunder the trees although healthy in appearance bore but little fruit and that it is essentially necessary that both air and sun have a free passage between them.

33. I have seen a good nutmeg tree throw out branches 25 feet from the stem, therefore those that would insure a long continuance of crops ought to have them 50 feet asunder so that the branches of two trees would just touch. However, as such trees are not common (although I have my doubts) I have,

therefore, yielded to the opinion of others and have taken as a maximum 12 yards or 36 feet, which will only allow of 5,900 trees being planted in 100 orlongs.

* 34. I differ also essentially in the quantity of produce and beg to refer you to the statement—In presuming to give so decided a calculation in the face of the one you sent me, I beg to apologize and to state that my opinions are not founded on mere theory but have been dearly purchased by the experience of nearly 20 years in the midst of cultivation wholly of this nature.

Malacca
The 30th June
1827.

I have the honour etc etc.
(Signed) W. T. LEWIS,
Acting 2nd Assistant Resident.

Appendix B.

Orders that were to be issued respecting Landholders and the powers to be given to the Panghooloo.

1st. When a Landholder gives charge of his ground to a Panghooloo it must be done with the previous leave of the Rajah of Malacca.

Everybody placed under him must then obey all the Panghoolos' orders, and respect as such—However should the Panghooloo use the people ill they have the privilege of carrying their complaints to the Rajah of Malacca.

2nd. That all Panghoolos must follow the Regulations of the Police and take care of the people placed under his care.

3rd. All Panghoolos are bound to obey the orders of their masters but can also complain to the Rajah of Malacca should they be aggrieved.

4th. All Complaints must be made to the Panghooloo.

5th. The Panghooloo ought to appoint a person as Matta Matta to the intent that he might assist him in carrying orders into effect and to prevent any bad conduct of the Tenants—The Panghooloo is allowed to have stocks at night in which he is allowed to confine persons to bring them to justice.

6th. Panghoolos are enjoined to take up and confine all suspicious persons going about after 8 o'clock at night with property about them or that they cannot give good account of themselves or in case of complaint from another and in the Panghoolos' opinion the person ought to be secured, he is to be allowed to do so and to bring him or them before the Fiscal and lay the case there.

7th. The Panghooloo is to take up all persons without papers and that commit offence within the Boundaries of his
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Panghoolooship—and if he cannot punish he or them on account of the greatness of the crime being beyond his powers, he is immediately to let the Fiscal know—sending witnesses etc. who can depose with respect to the affair as well as arms, goods etc. that may have been seized.

8th. No stranger shall be allowed to stay with any of the Tennants without giving information of it to the Panghooloo.

9th. Any one hiding himself or found in another person's ground and cannot give a proper account of himself shall be considered a suspicious person and shall be carried before the Panghooloo should he resist it will be lawful to use force to secure him.

10th. Should any person smuggle or evade Government duties or that of the Landholders he shall be taken to the Fiscal and shall have his goods confiscated or be fined according to the offence committed.

11th. It is the duty of the Panghooloo to take care that all persons who have Ladangs, Sawaks, Orchards etc. at the time of the produce do well and truly pay the Hassil of which he is entitled to keep 1/10 and the other 9th part to be given to the Owner of the Lands.

12th. Should the Panghooloo hear of anything wrong amongst his people, he is bound to enquire into it, and to find out the persons so offending and to bring them to justice.

13th. The Panghooloo is on no account to keep any one confined longer than 24 hours.

14th. When the Panghooloo receives an order from the Fiscal to seize a person he must forthwith obey it, and if he is not able to do so with the assistance of the Matta Matta he can call on the Tenants to assist, who are bound to obey him.

15th. All Landholders and Panghooloos of Estates adjoining to each other are to give every assistance in carrying the orders of the Police into effect.

16th. Should a person be found dead, the Panghooloo is immediately to proceed to the spot with 2 matta mattas or if they are not present with two witnesses and take down notes of the affair, as to wounds etc. so that every facility for the discovery of the murderer may be given.

17th. Should there be any cause of suspicion the Panghooloo is bound to secure such person.

18th. In all cases when a person is caught the Panghooloo must write the name and place of abode of the witnesses and take down the deposition.

19th. Should there be a fire, robbery on the road, or of a house, or should a person be wounded or offence of any kind happen, the panghooloo must go to the spot and take notes of what has happened which is to be sent to the Fiscal.

20th. All orders sent the Panghooloo whether from the Fiscal or captain of his Tribe as coming by order of the Rajah of Malacca he is bound to receive and obey them.

21st. The Panghooloo ought to choose 4 or 5 elders from amongst the people when he settles small causes of disputes.

22nd. When an offence has been decided, the Panghooloo and elders shall sentence the offender to one of either of the two punishments herein mentioned and not to be more on any account viz. 12 strokes of the Rattan or by fining, but in the latter case not to exceed three Rupees which fine is to be given to the suffering person or complainant.

23rd. Panghooloos cannot give permission for gambling in any way excepting on (Arrie Raya) New Year's day of the Malays when cock fighting alone may be allowed and then the Matta Matta ought always to be present. Should any of the tenants offend, for the first offence the Panghooloo will punish him as per 22nd Regulation—for the second the punishment to be doubled—and if he again offends the Panghooloo will bring him to the Fiscal and there state the case.

24th. The Panghooloo with the assistance of the Elders will settle all cases of marriages and concerning religious usages of the people and of the Mahomedan religion. The parties if from two different parts will first obtain permission from both Panghooloos.

25th. The Panghooloo will receive for every marriage two rupees for the use of the poor. This money will be hereafter distributed according to the orders of the Rajah of Malacca.

26th. If the Panghooloo thinks proper he can permit the marriage even should the parents be against it.

27th. Should a man seduce a Virgin and leave her he shall be flogged with 25 lashes and be fined the Mas Cowin to be given to the parents of the Girl.

28th. A man running away with a Virgin against her consent shall be seized and taken to the Fiscal.

29th. The Panghooloo in the presence and with the assistance of 4 or 5 Elders can settle all disputes respecting money to the amount of 100 Rupees an appeal is, however, permitted in all cases to the Fiscal.

Above 100 Rupees will be carried before the High Court of Justice, but appeal must be made within 4 days from the time of the sentence of the Panghooloo.

30th. If a complaint be made for a debt in money or merchandise the Panghooloo shall fix a day for hearing the case and shall settle the same as laid down in these regulations.

31st. For the Settlement of these debts the Panghooloo will make each party pay $\frac{1}{2}$ a Rupee which he will divide every month between the Matta Mattas and the Panghooloo will keep a register of all these sums so collected.

32nd. Should the Creditor not appear on the day appointed the debt shall be cancelled and if the debtor does not appear as ordered, the Panghooloo shall decide it in favour of the complainant.

33rd. The Panghooloo will enquire into all concerns and bring them before the elders without favour to any; even if it is one of his own family.

34th. In dividing Inheritances the Law according to those laid down by (Mohamedans) shall be followed and done before the Panghooloo.

35th. The Panghooloo will take into his custody all things in dispute that they may be forthcoming on the settlement of the affair.

36th. The Panghooloo will consider it his duty to keep all roads in his jurisdiction in order and call on all the Tenants to assist in repairing them.

37th. The Panghooloo will keep a list of all persons under him, their ages and trade, time of leaving the village etc. etc.

38th. The Panghooloo will keep a list of all births, Deaths and Marriages and will request the assistance of the elders in doing so.

39th. Every 1st of January the Panghooloo will bring a copy of the above mentioned lists to the Rajah of Malacca.

40th. The Panghooloo cannot allow any strangers to reside in his lands without a written testimony of his character be produced.

41st. That no robbery of Buffaloes may take place, the Panghooloo shall keep a list of the numbers each individual may have and should one be sold the Panghooloo shall give a paper stating that it is with his knowledge. The Panghooloo shall also secure all stray Buffaloes and find out to whom they may belong etc. as per 7th order.

42nd. When there are no Panghooloos on an Estate, the Landholder himself must be answerable that these orders are acted upon.

Appendices C to H include a few disjointed notes covering the history of the Malacca Police from 1850 to 1875.

Appendix C.

The Hon'ble Mr. I. Ferrier, Resident Councillor wrote on 9th July 1850—the following letter to Government.

“ On the 29th of June 1850 a gang of 10 to 12 Malays attacked a bangsal at Ayer Kuning near Bukit Singay about 30 miles from Malacca Town in the midst of the jungle where a party of about 20 Chinese had located themselves for the purpose of working tin ;—three of the latter were killed, one wounded, and the bangsal robbed of its contents.

The perpetrators of the dead are unknown ; the distance from the Country Police Station at Ayer Panas being so great viz 15 miles, rendered it impracticable to afford any aid or protection.

The Chinese tin miners of Malacca are gradually extending their operations into the Interior ; and the further they go are so much the further removed from the protection that was afforded them by the lately established Country Police force at Ayer Panas Rheim (Modern Rim.). From the want of roads for with the exception of the roads at Durian Tunggal Rheim and Malacca and all meeting at Ayer Panas, there is no other in this part of Malacca. I would not think it advisable that this post be advanced or even divided it being too small for the latter measure.

My object in bringing this late serious outrage to your notice is with the object of submitting it to your consideration whether it may not at some future period be deemed incumbent on Government to provide some kind of force in the Country for the protection of those employed in the Tin Mines.”

The Chinese themselves petitioned on 12th August. The Resident forwarding their petition wrote “ There is no doubt but that the Chinese Miners have for the last 18 months suffered seriously from gang robberies and murders committed by Malays generally supposed to have come from the adjacent states—but by the extension of their mining the Chinese have removed their gangs nearer to the danger of which they complain and further from the protection that was afforded them by the posting of a Police Force at Ayer Panas, RIM, in December last—Viz

1 Constable
1 Jemadar
14 Peons

The cost of this post appears to have been “ the liberal allowance of 219 monthly ”. The Resident finally recommended
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" that the Police be advanced to Bukit Singay the line of a (new) road to be made to pass from Ayer Panas through the districts of Sunggye, Bedarah, Ponds Campes, Bukit Singay to the frontier at Batang Malacca."

The Constable in charge was one " Constable Taylor " apparently a European, who was so ill in May 1851 that he was sent to Singapore Hospital.

Malacca Police Establishments on 1st May 1851.

Head Constable	—	70	Rupees
2nd "	—	67	"
3rd "	—	45	"
4th "	—	18	"
7 Jemadars	—	14	" each
64 Peons	—	10	" "

There appears to have been no Chief Police Officer the " Sitting Magistrate " Mr. A. Minjoot was in charge of the Department. Upon his sudden death in August 1851—the Resident applied for authority to appoint Mr. T. Braddell as successor to Mr. Minjoot. " I have put that gentleman in charge of the Police and requested him to take the chair of the Sitting Magistrate ". Mr. Braddell arrived in Malacca from Penang on 15th August. He was then handed a letter officially appointing him Superintendent of Police, Sitting Magistrate and a Member of the Municipal Committee.

(In October 1851 the Resident urged the making of a road to Kuala Linggi from Sungei Bharu. There was already a Military road apparently between Pengkalen Balak and Gajah Mati).

Mr. Braddell took his duties seriously: by November 10th 1851 he had already published a book entitled " Hints to Peace Officers ". He next devoted his attention to the creation of an Excise Department to be manned by the Police; his enquiries having satisfied him that the " farming system " was used particularly by the spirit and opium farmers simply to defraud the Government of fair revenue.

Mr. Braddell recommended in January 1852 that each of those farmers should contribute respectively " \$50/- and \$150/- per month for the maintenance of a Revenue Force to consist of 2 European Constables, 2 Jemadars and 21 Police Peons to be placed under the control and management of the Superintendent of Police." The members of this Force were to be sworn in as Peace Officers in order that " on occasions of emergency they could act in and of the regular Police."

Crime in this period continued to centre round the tin mining districts of Ayer Panas. Constable Luckett was in charge of this post in 1852; Constable Taylor having been overwhelmed with sickness.

In February 1852 a concerted attack by the mining coolies at Kesang against Constable Luckett and his man was made in a successful endeavour to rescue an arrested prisoner. Mr. Braddell left for the scene with a Military party of "70 bayonets" and re-established prestige. But this incident again brought up the whole question of the urgent need of developing the Country Police. The Resident Councillor addressed the following letter to Government.

To

The Hon'ble the Officiating Governor

etc., etc., P. W. Island.

Sir,

At the request of the Municipal Committee of Malacca, I beg to submit for your information and favourable consideration the accompanying resolution made at the last Meeting of the Committee, held on the 5th instant.

My Communication No. 75 dated the 4th instant to your address, forwarding Mr. Braddell's report of his proceeding on the occasion of a late resistance to all lawful authority by the Tin Miners at Cassang (Kesang) in this Settlement, will inform you of the great necessity that exists for an increase of Police force in their vicinity, for the more stringent enforcement of the laws of the Realm, the protection of the Police and Revenue, and Civil Officers, in the due execution of their duty, and the protection of the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts from the violent and outrageous acts of these lawless hordes of Chinese coolies. Deriving no funds from these people, the result of their labor and employment not being deemed liable to assessment by the present Act, it can hardly be expected that the funds levied for Municipal purposes in, and about the Town of Malacca, can be disbursed in the support of a Country Police, either for the protection of the Miners from injury from others, or for the protection of others from them and it was on this principle that the sum of Rupees 219 monthly has been already contributed by Government for the support of a Country Police as per margin:—

1 Constable	—	65
1 Jermadar	—	14
14 Peons	—	140

Rupees 219

That this number of men at one Station is inadequate I think may from the late proceedings just alluded to be fairly advanced. The Committee in limiting themselves to 1 Jermadar

and 10 Peons do so, not from the idea that such is sufficient, but that is all that they can afford in the emergency—An addition of 1 Jemadar and 16 Peons, at the same rate of pay of Rupees 174 monthly, would not be more than adequate to the wants of the service to be stationed at the posts of Ayer Panas and Durian Toongal occupying an intermediate station, if an eligible site be procurable making a total monthly outlay of Rupees 393, or in round numbers 400.

If arguments are required to show the necessity of such an increase to the Police forces in these Districts it is to be considered that on the occasion above attended to, there was first of all a successful resistance of all lawful authority—the rescue of a prisoner from the lawful custody of the Officers of Justice—next, when additional aid is afforded for the enforcement of the violated laws, even to the employment of the Military instead of respectful submission, a spirit of rebellious resistance is evinced, numbers of the Miners instead of following their lawful occupations, resort to Arms, form themselves into an armed body occupy a stockade prepared and armed for the purpose, and finally hesitate not to fire on the Civil force in the presence of a body of the Military of equal force with the Civil power, the evident object and intention being the expulsion of not only the force from their district for the time being, but that no one from outside even the Officer of the Government under which they live, shall be permitted to enter or interfere with them, within what they deem their own precincts, and where no one shall have jurisdiction but with their sanction.

There can be no doubt too, but that these men ignorant foreigners of perhaps the worst of characters, who proceed to the Interior straight from the junk in which they come from China are banded together in one of the Chinese Hoeys or brotherhoods illegal, because secret Societies—the ostensible object of which, as you are aware, is the support of indigent brethren in distress, but too often misapplied and for purposes quite the opposite. The chief man or President of one of these Secret Societies, to which almost all of the Miners in the Country, in addition to others of their Countrymen in Town belong and one of the most influential Societies in Malacca being also the principal miner in the District, and who has made such use of his former position, as to exercise a most dangerous influence over his neighbours and to such personal advantage that it is said that he levies a contribution on his fellow Miners to the extent of a third inducing them too to believe that without his sanctions no one can enter on mining speculations in his vicinity, he having secured the sole right of Mining there from the Government.

Under all these circumstances may I solicit your serious consideration of the subject of the present communication, and your favourable advocacy to the Government of India for the

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additional outlay for the support of an addition to the Country Police to the aggregate of say Rupees 400 monthly, distributed as per margin :—

1 Constable	—	70
2 Jemadars	—	30
30 Peons	—	300
Rupees		400

I trust that the urgency of the case may be accepted as my excuse for diffuseness.

I have etc.,

(*Sd.*) I. FERRIER,

10th February, 1852.

Resident Councillor.

(*Enclosure of the attached letter*)

Extract from the proceedings of the Municipal Committee of Malacca, held on the 5th February, 1852.

“ The Superintendent of Police reports that during the past work serious disturbances occurred amongst the Miners at Cassang (Kesang) and that it became necessary to call out the Military forces to aid the Police force in the execution of their duty and finally that unless measures are at once taken to curb the lawless population in the Mining Districts, the most serious consequences may be expected to result from their known turbulence. The Committee taking into consideration the urgency of the case sanction the temporary entertainment of an addition to the force to the extent of 1 Jemadar and 10 Peons, to be stationed at Ayer Panas and Durian Toongal, in addition to the Country Police force, now supported at the cost of Government, and request the Chairman to address Government, bringing to notice the circumstances of the case, in the hope that it may be pleased to increase the present allowance for the support of a Country Police to admit of its permanent retention.”

A true Extract

(*sd.*) I. FERRIER

Resident Councillor

. Mr. Braddell had obviously submitted a very strong report.

That he was an officer of considerable ability and reputation would appear to have been recognized by his “ particular appointment as Assistant to the Resident ” in March 1852.

1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Appendix D.

To

The Honourable the Officiating Governor,
etc., etc., Malacca.

Sir,

The official year being just about to close, I do myself the honour of submitting a report on the result of the operations of the Country Police Force, employed in the vicinity of the Tin Mines at Soongye Bedarrah since its increased establishment, and disposition, as ordered by you since April 1852, such being divided into the several following heads, viz:—its strength and Salary, its disposition, armament, benefits derived from its presence, together with a Dr. and Cr. Account of the funds placed at my disposal for its support.

The present strength of the Country Police employed for the protection of the Tin Mines at Soongye Bedarrah, and its vicinity, with amount of Salary is as follows:—

1	European Constable	—	\$35	00
2	Jemadars @ 9	—	18	00
3	Duffadars @ 6½	—	19	50
30	{ 1 1st Class Peon	—	5	00
	29 3rd „ „ @ 4	—	116	00
			193	50

In addition to which I made an allowance of \$1½ per Mensem to the Constable to assist him in defraying the expense of keeping a pony, making the total sum of monthly disbursed on this account \$195/-.

Disposition of the force is as follows:—

	Con.	Jem.	Duff.	Peons
Main Station at Bukit Bedarrah	1	—	1	12
Station at Pondoh Compass	—	1	—	5
„ „ Machap	—	1	—	5
„ „ Gading	—	—	1	4
„ „ Durian Toongal	—	—	1	4
„ „ Ayer Panas, as yet unoccupied	—	—	—	—
<hr/>				
	1	2	3	30

Were all Contingencies paid, the funds allowed is sufficient for the support of an additional Duffadar and 4 Peons for the occupation of Ayer Panas Station. But as such has not yet been

the case, I have been unable to complete the force to its full strength, but I calculate that in two months more I should be able to do so, with the present rate of allowance.

The present is not the original strength of the force—it was gradually increased to its present strength according to the means at Command, and the state of readiness and completion of the Stations :—

There is at the main station a raised plank dwelling with Attap roof, for the accomodation of the Constable, without houses attached and a well—a raised plank house with attap roof for the accomodation of the Police men, with one room set apart for the use of the Magistrate or myself when visiting the Mines and the posts, and out houses attached all surrounded by a stout railing. Also a Barrack room bark walls, plank floor, attap roof, with Cook house and well, for the accomodation of a Military Guard—not as yet fenced in—and at each of the smaller stations, there is the station house, raised with plank walls and floors, Attap roof, a pound for cattle, and the whole surrounded with a fence.

Each Officer is armed with a sword and pistol, and the rest with flint rifle and Sword Bayonet, at each of the Stations of Machap and Pondoh Compass there is an Iron Swivel with ammunition and at the main station two brass three pounder guns, and two one pounder Iron Swivels, with ammunition for both kinds.

That the benefits resulting from the increase to the Country Police, and the additional outlay that has been incurred from its more extended distribution, and more efficient armament, are fully commensurate with the cost, I think will be generally admitted, when it is to be considered that amongst the advantages derived therefrom, the most prominent are, 1st the increased protection and safety to life and property the impetus that has been given to Mining operations—the increase of Paddy cultivation in the adjacent districts, and the increase to the revenue, as evinced by the last sales of the Tin and Opium farms, where there was an increase on the former of \$390, and of \$320 on the latter per mensem, above the rates given for the previous year.

During the past year not one single instance of Murder or Gang robbery has occurred within the limits of the Country Police, and Warrants, either Civil, Criminal, or Revenue, have been executed without difficulty, whilst no internal disturbance requiring the interference of the Police has occurred, that they have not been fully competent to deal with, whilst during six months of that period, no Military have been stationed there or at Ayer Panass, whence it was found necessary to remove them on the 8th November last, in consequence of their suffering so much from fever and as it is only now that these Barracks have been finished for them at the Main Station, they have not yet occupied them.

On reference to the Police records that during the previous years there were three cases of Gang Robbery, wherein eight persons lost their lives, whilst there were three cases of internal disturbances, requiring aid from Malacca, on the occasion of the execution of Warrants, principally revenue, when determined resistance was shewn by the Miners who combined for that purpose.

During the past year nine new leases to dig Tin have been taken from the Land Office, whilst Mines that had been abandoned have been resumed, in addition to the above fresh Mines have been opened without lease or license, the parties so doing considering that so long as they paid their one tenth to Government no further license to dig for Tin was required—the result of which is that 763 piculs of Tin have been raised this year in excess of the year previous that for 1852/53 having been 10,013-22 and for 1853/54 10,776-22

I am also credibly informed that there has been an increase in Rice cultivation in the direction of Pondoh Compass, and that some few families have moved into, and settled in that district, and thus next year a still further increase of cultivation may be expected, all of which is attributed to the presence of a Police Station at that village.

I may here mention that within the last two months three attacks were made on the Police Station at Pondoh Compass, when it was fired upon at night, the fire on each occasion being returned by the Police, the last time the Swivels being brought into play on the second occasion one of the attacking party having been wounded and there is every reason to believe since dead.

I have etc.,

(Sd.) I. FERRIER

Malacca,

Resident Councillor.

19th April, 1853.

Appendix E.

To

The Hon'ble the Officiating Governor
etc., etc., P. W. Island.

Sir,

I do myself the honour of reporting to you that I expect that by the 1st proximo the Barracks etc., will be ready for the reception of the detachment of Military directed to be posted at Bukit Bedarra in the centre of the Tin Mines. The Military were withdrawn from Ayer Panas on the 8th November 1852,

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for the reasons assigned in my letter to your address No. 609 dated 8th November, 1852 and are directing their return to the new Station at Bukit Bedarra, might I respectfully be permitted to suggest how far it would be advisable to do so for the following reasons—:

It is now nearly five months since a Military detachment has been stationed in the vicinity of the Tin Mines. During the whole of that period no circumstances of any serious nature have occurred or anything more than usual calling for the interference of authority, that has not been within the complete management of the Police force there under its present Constable who is a steady, discreet, and well conducted man.

For three months of these five, he was stationed with his force, and without the presence of Military, at Ayer Panas, a distance of three miles from the new Station and for the last two months he has been so situated at Bukit Bedarra in the very centre of the Mines, and that too during what may be deemed the time of the year when more disturbance is expected to occur than any other—Viz—: the Chinese New Year—His whole force in the Country consists of 36 men, and stationed as follows :—

			Con.	Jem.	Duff.	Peons
Bukit Bedarra	..	..	1	—	1	12
Pondoh Compas	..	..	—	1	—	5
Machap	..	..	—	1	—	5
Gading	..	..	—	—	1	4
Durian Toongal	..	..	—	—	1	4

30

The monthly funds at my disposal are sufficient for the support of 1 Duffadar and 4 Peons additional to be stationed at Ayer Panas but this I cannot do until all the expenses are defrayed in the construction of Tamahs etc., which have been nearly all completed, and paid for.

Should there be a rise in the Tin farm on the sale for next year there will be increased means for support of the Country Police, when it might be considered preferable to employ a few more Peons, to be placed at the Centre Station, instead of Military.

I have etc.,

(Sd.) I. FERRIER,

Malacca,

Resident Councillor.

25th March, 1853.

1941] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

Appendix F.

1854

In 1854 the strength of the Police was—

TOWN POLICE

			Total
2 Jemadars	@ Rs. 20 p.m.	Rs. 40	
7 Duffedars	„ Rs. 14 and Ans. 8 p.m.	101/8	
19 1st Class Peons	„ Rs. 11 p.m.	209	
23 2nd „ „	„ Rs. 10 „	230	
66 3rd „ „	„ Rs. 9 „	594	

1174/8

COUNTRY POLICE

(In the vicinity of the Tin Mines paid by Government from the 13½% on the tithe on the mines.)

George Batho Constable		Rs. 86 10 9
2 Jemadars	@ Rs. 20	„ 40 — —
4 Duffedars	„ Rs. 14.8	„ 58 — —
34 Peons	„ Rs. 9	„ 306 — —
		<hr/>
		Rs. 490 10 9

In the year the title of Inspector of Police just appears. Mr. Neubronner, whose title was Collector and Deputy Superintendent of Police on a salary of Rs. 100 was instructed to designate himself as Inspector of Police. He was apparently (with the exception of the Constable in charge of the Country Police) the only responsible Officer under the Superintendent.

1863

In April 1863 a Police Surgeon was appointed. He drew “\$5/- per month from the Police Fund in consideration of his attendance upon the Police cases. This is only to last as long as the Police Fund is able to bear the additional charge.”

In March 1863 the proposal was first put forward in Penang “of the advisability of recruiting in India, for a Police to serve in the Straits.”

The Resident Councillor Malacca who was at this time signing himself as “Resident Councillor and Commissioner of Police” considered that “the only objection would be at first, should they be received in large number, as they would be ignorant of the language. To avoid this I would propose to limit the number from India to one third of the Force for the 1st year.”

The intention appears to have been to enlist at Madras, each Settlement being responsible for the cost of passage of its own batches of recruits. There was some difference also in the pay of the Police in Malacca and Penang.

The Resident Councillor Malacca on 15th May 1863 writes to Penang :—

“ At present we have only two rates of pay for Police peons viz—\$6 say Rs. 13 for our small Frontier Force of 32 Peons and \$5 say Rs. 11 for all the Town Police—but by offering to all new comers the lowest scale of pay obtaining at Penang of Rs. 10 we can easily assimilate our scale to yours as the rupee thus gained from the pay of each new comer could be added to that of the Seniors of the Town Force now drawing Rs. 11—the scale would then be Rs. 13.12.10. The number of the 2nd class could be decided on hereafter.

Appendix G.

1865-66

1865 October.

The Resident Councillor (Major I. Burn) ordered the construction of a Police Station “ same size as at Brisoo to be erected on our North West Frontier at Lobo Chiena to be defended by a ditch and strong fence and well raised from the ground”. By August 1866 the Station had been completed much to the satisfaction of the Raja of Rembau who had written to the Resident of Malacca expressing the contentment of his people for the protection afforded.

The country was begining to become thoroughly modernized in this year—and the Settlement was almost within reach of the “ Electric Telegraph.”

On the 30th July Major Burn addressed the Sultan of Selangor as follows :—

“ I write this letter to explain to my friend that two gentlemen, Merchants of Singapore, have formed a Company to carry out a Line of Electric Telegraph from Rangoon to Singapore—there is no word in the Malay language by which I can explain the meaning of Electric Telegraph to my friend but it consists in so long a line of posts about 20 feet high and about 60 feet apart and along the tops of these posts is stretched a wire, by which if one end of the wire is in Rangoon and the other end of the wire in Singapore people at Rangoon can talk to people at Singapore and also at any place between where Stations are made for the ends of the wire to be placed. If any of my friends people have been to Singapore they will have seen an Electric Telegraph from Telok Blanga to the Merchants Street in Singapore.

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These Tooan have already received permission from the King of Siam and from the Toomongong of Johore to put up their wooden posts in their respective territories and have signed agreements with them, and they now ask my friend to give them authority to erect these posts through Selangore in a straight line from Perak to Malacca. The Hon'ble the Governor will be very glad to learn that my friend is willing to give the Company all the assistance in his power and I hope my friend will agree to sign the agreement which I now send to him and which has been signed by the two gentlemen who have formed the Company. My friend will be put to no expense whatever but if the Company receive good profit then they will give a share of that profits to my friend and as they will have to employ my friends subject to cut down jungle and put up posts the poor people in Selangore, Kallang and Looroot will receive good wages. If my friend approves of the agreement I request my friend will sign it and put his great seal to it end enter the date on which he seals it and then either return the agreement to me or give it over to Mr. Read who has gone up to Kallang and who intends meeting my friend at Langat.

Appendix H.

1875

15th December, 1875.

Serious disturbances took place between Chinese of different Secret Societies in the Country districts. The acting Lieutenant/Governor Mr. C. B. Plunket reported to the Officer Commanding the Troops in Malacca as follows :—

“ I am now sending out 2 headmen of each Society to beat a gong all around the suburbs ordering their men to keep quiet. These men will be accompanied by a guard of 12 Police and I have to request that you will afford a further guard of 12 Europeans of the 10th Regiment to go with them. I am anxious to send the party off before 12 o'clock today (15.12.75).

In the afternoon however he had changed his mind. “ I have thought 'advisable instead of sounding the gong round the suburbs—to order the party of Police to proceed direct to Durian Toongal, a distance of 10 miles and remain there for the night. The next day the party will move on probably to Alor Gajah another distance of 10 miles. After which they will return home. Inspector Cartwright goes in charge of the party. Whatever Commissariah Stores may be required I will send out by gharry.

A few days after this on the 21st December another European Inspector was detailed to accompany a military party to Chin Chin. “ I have just received information that an attack is expected by a gang of Rambow Malays upon Chin Chin a frontier station about 24 miles from Town.

Bullock carts will be provided to convey the Troops and their rations to the place and will be ready to start any time after 12 o'clock tonight, that may be most convenient.

This Station was attacked by a body of Malays from the interior some 10 months ago; and 3 of the Chinese inhabitants were killed.

I hope to be able to make such arrangements with the Penghooloos and loyal natives as will allow of the troops being withdrawn before long.

The year altogether was a bad one. The Sungei Ujong trouble was a constant menace to Malacca. Mr. Plunket appears to have had considerable friction with Colonel Anson in charge of his expedition to Sungei Ujong who had on 5/12/73 received a private letter from the Governor instructing that the distribution and disposal of the Force at Sungei Ujong and Malacca were placed entirely in his hands.

Mr. Plunket was extremely anxious about the security of the Settlement. In addressing Colonel Anson on 19th December he wrote.—

“ At the present time some of the most serious Chinese riots that have ever been known in Malacca are going on and I have been obliged as a temporary measure to detain and incorporate with the Police both the Manilla men on their way down from Sungei Ujong and the Arab force on their way up.”

A detachment of 200 men of the 3rd Buffs arrived immediately after this. .

Inspector Cartwright had been detailed to go to Sungei Ujong and had been withdrawn much to Colonel Anson's disgust.

“As he was required in Malacca to assist in quelling formidable riots and in attending to his proper duties.”

The Ho Beng Secret Society appears to have been the principal instigator of the riots in Malacca. The headmen was Mr. Chong Boon Swee—interpreter in the Malacca Police Courts—who after being called upon for an explanation of his activities was transferred to Singapore or Penang.

A petition from “ some of the Chinese Traders in Malacca ” was submitted without avail on his behalf.

